PORTSMOUTH POLYTECHNIC
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES

ROYALISTS, REPUBLICANS AND RIOTERS: HAMPSHIRE AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1789 - 1815

by

Stephen Wood

BA (HONS) HISTORICAL STUDIES 1992

ROYALISTS, REPUBLICANS AND RIOTERS : HAMPSHIRE AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1789-1815

Submitted by:

STEPHEN WOOD

B.A. (Hons.) HISTORICAL STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND LITERARY STUDIES

PORTSMOUTH POLYTECHNIC 1992

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

In the preparation of this dissertation, my thanks are due to the staff of the Hampshire Record Office, Portsmouth City Records Office, Winchester County Library, Portsmouth Central Library and King Alfred Library at H.M. Naval Base, Portsmouth.

Thanks for the typing go to Pat Mortimer and the translations to Dr. Thomas.

Finally, my very special thanks go to my tutor for this project, Dr. James Thomas of the Department of Historical and Literary Studies, Portsmouth Polytechnic. Also to my fellow dissertation students for helpful advice, encouragement and information.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 : French Exiles and Emigrants 1789-1815	2
CHAPTER 2 : French Prisoners of War 1792-1815	16
CHAPTER 3 : Riots and Insurrection 1789-1815	32
CONCLUSION	47
APPENDIX	
CHAPTER 1	48
CHAPTER 2	52
CHAPTER 3	55
REFERENCES	
CHAPTER 1	66
CHAPTER 2	69
CHAPTER 3	72
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES	75
PRIMARY PRINTED SOURCES	76
MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS	77
SECONDARY PRINTED SOURCES	77
JOURNAL ARTICLES	80
UNPUBLISHED SOURCES	80

MAPS

MAP 1 - Locations of Exiles and Emigrants in Hampshire 59

MAP 2 - Locations of Prisoners of War in Hampshire 62

MAP 3 - Riots and Disturbances in Hampshire 61

MAP 4 - Distribution of Known Radical Populist Organisations in England in the 1790's 62

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1.1 - Cartoon depicting the French Clergy 63

1.2 - King's House, Winchester 64

2.1 - Portchester Castle 65

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the Footnotes and the Text;

H. Chron.	Hampshire Chronicle
H.T.	Hampshire Telegraph
H.R.O.	Hampshire Records Office
H.O.	Home Office Papers
L.C.S.	London Corresponding Society
P.C.R.O.	Portsmouth City Records Office
POW	Prisoner of War
Proc H.F.C.	Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club

A B S T R A C T

This dissertation examines the position of Hampshire as a forefront County, in relation to the effects of the French Revolution, 1789 - 1815. French Emigrants, Prisoners of War and the threat of insurrection and riot are dealt with in three Chapters. Each of these Chapters tries to build up a picture of the role of these factors within the County's Society. The base of the research is from the use of contemporary newspapers and magazines, Parliamentary sources, Home Office sources, manuscript sources and Parish records. Secondary Sources have been used, often to help put the Chapters into a national context.

In the first two Chapters, an attempt is made to show how the French people, Emigrants and Prisoners, who came to Hampshire, integrated into the economic, social and cultural life of the County. In the third Chapter, an examination is made in terms of radical revolutionary action. Here, a framework of a theory is used to explain a very complex area of history. The three themes from the Chapters all link with each other, but can also be looked at independantly.

INTRODUCTION

The subject chosen for this dissertation is obviously a wide one. The plan for it therefore had to be to focus upon three important areas, rather than make a very generalised study trying to cover all the effects of the French Revolution from 1789 - 1815. This period was a vital part of European History, in which War and Society changed at a startling pace. These 26 years can be seen as the start of the modern age, War was fought on an unprecedented scale, which stretched the resources of all Countries involved. Britain became isolated in a way, that many believed a French invasion was imminent. This threat was perhaps not again so great until the Second World War. For Hampshire and Britain, this period would shake the old traditions and structures at their foundations.

CHAPTER ONE

FRENCH EXILES AND EMIGRANTS 1789 - 1815

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Hampshire developed a cosmpolitan Society far more than any other Seabourne county in Southern England. The French Revolution and the resulting period of terror and confusion in that Country caused an exodous to England through Hampshire. This helped to maintain the trend towards Hampshire's Society being represented by a wide range of Nationalities. In the early years of the Revolution from 1789 to 1792, the Emigration to England was not significantly large. It was in 1792 that the Revolution took on a form of terror, violence and no respect for property. In this year the small flow of French Exiles and Emigrants became a rush. The people who came can be divided into three categories, firstly the Catholic Clergy who came because of the fear of persecution or even execution. This was due to their refusal to accept the new order of the Grallican Church voted by the French Revolutionary Government in July 1790.(1) In 1797 they were approximately 50% of the French Emigrant population resident in England.(2) The next grouping is the Royalist Aristocracy of the old Ancien regime, they brought with them notions of high Status, they wished to preserve. Most had managed to salvage some of their landed wealth to support themselves, these people numbered 3,000 in 1797.(3) The final grouping which made up a significant number, was the Merchants who were unable to continue in their normal systems of trade and

production. The main influx into Hampshire came through the main Ports of Southampton and Portsmouth. As the nineteenth century progressed, Southampton assumed a greater significance as a centre of immigration and emigration.

It is important to first look at, in general at how the Emigrants were received at these two main ports and what the impact was. For these arriving French people the shores of the Hampshire Coastline would have been a relieving sight. In 1794, on H.M.S. Gorgon, James Gardener noted how the several French Emigrants who had left Toulon were, 'in the greatest tribulation all passage for fear of being taken'.(4) If these Emigrants were caught fleeing the French Shores they would be reguarded as traitors and there was the likelihood of execution.

Newspapers from the 1790's provide vivid descriptions of how much of an impact they seemed to be making in Southampton, more than Portsmouth. In September 1792 a report stated that, 'this town is remarkably full, and the rooms brilliantly attended'.(5) This was reflecting on the positive side of the massive flow of Emigrants into the town. The inhabitants could benefit economically from the strong demand for services and goods. However, only a month later a report stated:

> The inhabitants here are beginning to murmur on account of the Crowd of Frenchmen who are now in this place, the price of provisions having advanced since their arrival.(6)

As will be seen in Chapter 3 on riot and insurrection, the high price of provisions could often lead to disorder from the lower orders of society.

In Portsmouth, the reaction seems to have been less. The people of the town were more used to such upheavals in comparison to Southampton's populance. Over the last fifty years Portsmouth had housed Prisoners of War from France, America and Spain and as chapter 2 illustrates, also French Prisoners 1792 to 1815. Forton Hospital at Gosport, used for Prisoners of War, housed the French Emigrants when they first arrived in Portsmouth. In September 1792, 120 Refugees were landed in the neighbourhood of Gosport and were 'hospitably received by the local clergy and residents'.(7)

Dealing with the Emigrants in terms of the social groupings outlined in the first paragraph of this Chapter, the exiled Priests were prominent in the eye of the public of Hampshire and England. Due to the speed at which they left to escape persecution many arrived in a destitute condition. Much worse in comparison to the fleeing Royalist Aristocracy and Merchants. Figure 1.1 illustrates how the French were portrayed as being barbarous against Religion, in the English press. The authorities realised the propaganda value of the French exiled Clergy and tried to cultivate sympathy for them in the popular mind. As 1792 progressed the numbers coming from France and Jersey were reaching several hundred each month. At its peak in September over 500 were landed upon the Hampshire coast.(8)

By the end of 1792, the number of French Priests in England had reached 2,500, with another 2,000 waiting in Jersey expecting to gain residence in England.(9) Although the English wanted to help these victims of the 'terrible' French Revolution, the Hampshire Chronicle pointed out how widespread the problem could become, 'they say there are 30-40,000 of their persecuted breatheren waiting for an opportunity to seek refuge in some other country'.(10) As shall be seen in this Chapter, the matter of the emigrants was viewed by the authorities with care and suspicion.

As the Priests arrived and were temporarily housed at Southampton and Portsmouth, the authorities were faced with a problem. Most of the Priests had little means of supporting themselves, cheap large scale accomodation therefore had to be found quickly. At Winchester, part of a solution was found in the King's House (see figure 1.2). This building, lying in a slightly delapidated state had been constructed on the site of Winchester Castle. It had been designed for King Charles II by Wren, building began in 1683, but ended in 1685, due to the Monarch's death.(11) By October 1792, reports emerged that the building was being prepared to hold up to 1,000 of the Priests. It was pointed out in the press, that the King's House was being prepared for the Priests, 'in such a manner to show our charity is not insultingly given'.(12) The importance of Hampshire and Winchester in particular as a preferable choice to keeping the Priests in the vastness of London was acknowledged by The Times. Winchester was an old and traditional City, this could be added with a good amount of financial stability,

much of it from landed sources. A good level of philanthropic help could therefore be expected. The move to Winchester was supported by The Times;

> This determination is wise in every point of view, and does honour to the national character....and lastly by dividing the good corn from the chaff we shall better know what description of Frenchmen remain among us.(13)

This important quote leads into taking this Chapter to the area of finding out the reality of the effects and reactions concerning the Priests. The last line of the above quote illustrates how the authorities had to consider the potential threat of having Frenchmen in the country in such large numbers. Examples of French Jacobin Revolutionists stealing among the Emigrants heightened suspicions. It was expected that the Priests should stay at the King's House all time, however many wished to travel to locations in Hampshire and to London. The reasons for such journeys are, unfortunately mainly unknown.(14) The matter was considered important enough to contact the Duke of Portland at the Home Office, who then gave permission for passports to be issued to the Priests who wished to travel.(15)(see Appendices 1.1. to 1.3). These are important, showing where the Priests travelled to and from, therefore illustrating where other Exiled Priests were staying or strong areas of Catholicism. The table in the Appendix shows these possibilities, pointing to less obvious connections with places such as Andover. It is impressive that already by 1793, the Priests had formed a network of

contacts.(16)

The Government had also felt compelled to deal with the problem of the emigrants in general by issuing the Aliens Act in 1792 and renewing it in 1796. The Act meant that the Emigres were removed inland from the Coastal districts and Channel Islands.(17)This leading to removals of any Aliens without licences from Portsmouth in 1798 and 1800, in the latter year, a warning in the Hampshire Telegraph warned all such people and ordered them to the Guildhall, where the Aliens inspector and Magistrates would deal with them. The Priests at Winchester, were however not moved under the legislation.(18)

As well as the threat the Emigrants posed from the Status as Frenchmen, the Catholicism of the Priests was also perceived by some as a worrying matter. For the early part of their stay, the press presented a conflict free religious position. A report in 1792 stated, 'to the credit of our Clergy they are most forward in humane attention to their persecuted breatheren of France'.(19) For over two centuries, Anglicanism had developed with a strong anti-Catholic message. Now under the events of War and Revolution, people were expected to leave religious differences aside in order to help these persecuted Frenchmen. In Hampshire, being a forefront county, the conflict between religious denomination and fighting the evils of the Revolution could become a problem amongst the county's society.

Early nineteenth century chronicling of Winchester's

History make no mention of any problems concerning such conflict. The Priests at the King's House were said to have lived together with a 'regularity and piety which probably was not surpassed in any community at that time existing in Christendom.(21) The Reverend H. Sturges, Chancellor of Winchester defended the position of the Priests. He always put forward the idea that they should be regarded as fellow Christians. In a sermon preached in 1798 at the Cathedral, he directed his feelings at the anti-Christian nature of the new French regime.

> They (the French) have endeavoured to deprive the move worthy part of mankind of the comfort they derive from believing themselves under the government of a good and just God.(22)

Sturges was keen that the Priests should give people no cause to criticise their activities. An agreement was made with Abbe Martin, the superior of the French at the King's House. It stated that the Priests should print nothing or have anything to do with the press.(23)

However by 1794, it was apparent that the reforming zeal of some of the Priests had started to provoke a reaction from the people of Winchester. Reports were made of a number of conversions of the 'Lower Classes' due to the 'false representations and persuasive eloquence of some of the French Priests'. An article stated that two Reverends were, 'determined to prevent if possible, the minds of their unguarded parishioners from being beseiged by French politics or religion'.(24) Thomas Rennell attacked the

Catholic Religions' role in the revolution, stating that, 'the opposition which sound and genuine religion might have offered was enervated by superstition'.(25) In 1796, the Bishop of Winchester felt compelled to write to the Duke of Portland because he was, 'under some anxiety, when I see so many religious persons of their persuasion in the Capital of my Dioscese'.(26) He cited the case of James Coby, attempting to make converts and willed for any such behaviour to be stopped at the beginning. Also later in 1796, another over-zealous Priest, Couvet was forcibly repatriated.(27) Although these conflicts were not the general trend, they are important in illustrating the state of religion in Hampshire. Through the State Controlled Anglican Church, the Government could try and exert control over the general populance of the Nation. Therefore Conversions to Catholicism would be an attack upon the traditional holdings of power.

At a time of war, pressure upon the State's finances is obviously greater. During the first phase of the Wars, 1792 - 1801, financial stress was compounded by a poor harvest. As Chapter 3 illustrates, this sharply increased poverty amongst the lower orders of society. During this period debate over the allocation of the state resources for emigrant relief, the Priests in particular, started. The State finance was also supplemented with Charitable donations collected by the Committee for the relief of the suffering French Clergy. By 1800, the amount granted by Parliament for the 'Suffering Clergy and Laity of France, Toulouse and Corsican emigrants' had reached £242,798 5s.

1d.(28) Advertisements placed in newspapers indicate that Winchester, Portsmouth and Southamapton all contributed to the relief Committee. The Banks of Waller and Son in Winchester and Griffiths and Co. in Portsmouth received the subscriptions from 1792 onwards.(29)

The debute centred around whether the county should support the Clergy in such a manner, when its own poor were languishing. Letters were sent to the main Newspapers and fashionable periodicals, mainly in favour of the support. The Hampshire Chronicle set out its argument for the relief in this succint statement:

> The money raised for them is neither carried out of the Country nor spent unproperly, but returns again to the Community to our Shops, and our markets to procure the bare necesaries of life.(30)

The support for the Emigrants in general was a way in which Patriotic feeling could be expressed. The Committees in Hampshire are therefore an important example of a form of the Loyalist groups who tried to maintain the stability of Society, in this time of turmoil. In 1796, a large part of the Commitment to the Priests disappeared, when use of the King's House by troops led to the slow dispersal of the Priests. Many chose to stay and records from 1798 showed 208 French Emigrants declaring themselves to the Mayor.(31)

The example, clearly shows how integration into local communities was possible. Some had managed to stay, by gaining local approval. Abbe Francois Delarue became an

important figure within the Catholic community and beyond at Portsmouth. His role in town life increased as a French Tutor, a common move for many of the Emigres.(32) This was also done by Prisoners of War on Parole (Chapter 2). By 1806 Delarue was head of Portsea Mission. His impact is summed up by the inscription on his tombstone at St. James's Catholic Cemetery in Winchester:

> Here lies the body of
> Francois Delarue
> of the Diocese of Bayeux
> Exceptional priest
> Of the Christian Religion
> Expelled because of savage persecution
> from France
> Took refuge in England
> There in the year 1806 and
> for the rest of his life
> Cared for the faithful of Portsea
> Portsmouth and Gosport
> Dwelling there as a pious and fervid
> Soul dedicated to them,
> Died at Portsea on the 25th Day of May
> AD 1827 aged 67
> RIP (33)

The Royalists who made up the other part of the French Emigrant population in Hampshire often chose to express their thanks and loyalty by enlisting into groups of Corps. this was a positive contribution which the State could exact from the Emigrants. The small town of Lymington near the Hampshire coast was chosen as one of the centres for these legions of Emigrants. The notion of Foreign troops was not one which would have shocked the inhabitants of Hampshire. Since the sixteenth century, Hessian and other such troops and stayed in the County. Three groups were kept at Lymington; the 'Loyal Emigrants', royal Marine Regiment with

600 men and French Artillery containing 400 men.(34)

In 1795, these emigrants took a role in the War with their own Country, which put their sacrifice and fighting spirit into the public eye. They took part in the fated Quiberon Bay expedition, in which the Royalists lost more than 1200 men and 102 officers.(35) Early in that year, a build up of troops began at Southampton, preparing to disembark for Cowes on the Isle of Wight and then to France. A newspaper report stated that the camp on the Isle of Wight would contain seven regiments of British infantry and four regiments of loyal Emigrants.(36) In July another 500 from the Netley camp, near Southampton went to the Isle of Wight camp. This made the total of Emigrant troops in Hampshire approximately 3,500,(37) illustrating the profoundly important role played in such military matters. On July 27th the fleet left for Quiberon, hoping to make a diversionary attack upon the Brittany coast. The expedition ended as a rout, due to French Prisoners from Portchester Castle offering to change allegiance, but acting as enemy agents. As early as 1793 French Prisoners had offered their services to the Emigrant Corps.(38) The incident illustrated to the Government that this was a war in which complacency could have crippling effects. In the Wars, especially after Napoleon had taken charge in 1799, the French threw aside many old traditional military ethics. The Foreign Emigrant regiments were never again used in such

an important expedition. They were not disbanded and most still maintained a large visible presence at Southampton and the Isle of Wight.

The legacy of these men stayed in the Lymington Churchyard:

JOSEPH MARIE DE LA MOUSSAYE,
Major of the Corps of Loyal Emigrants,
who died 29th August, 1813, Aged 55 years.

To the Memory of
ISIDORE DE VAUDREUIL,
of the Regiment of Loyal Emigrants,
Brave and Good,
Lamented by all those who knew him,
He was drowned while bathing with his friends,
The 7th August, 1796,
AGED 22 YEARS

Sacred
TO the memory of
AMARANTE EMILIE DE SOULANGE,
The wife of
CAPT. CHARLES DE MEWARD,
Died in Child-bed, on the 19th of June, 1748,
In the 28th year of her age.(39)

(Count de Soulange, of the same family, was one of the principal leaders and victims of the Quiberon expedition).

Many of the Royalists who came, were Aristocrats of the Noble blood. they immediately integrated into Hampshire's High Society. By linking themselves with the English Upper Class they were attaching themselves to the system which had been attacked and destroyed in France, that is inheritance

and privilege. It became very fashionable to get involved with these Royalist Refugees. Noblemen such as Lord George Cavendish, opened up their estates to the Frenchmen.(40) The press liked to romanticize stories of the escaping Royalists and their families, a good example being the one Madame Vicountise the Sesmaisoun who arrived at Eastbourne, Sussex.(41)

One of the best examples of how the Royalists took a full part in the High social life was in 1792; 'the year of the Great Hunt for the French Emigres'. This took place at one of the Prince of Wales's favourite hunting homes at Kempshott, in the North-East of the county. It was said to be, 'crammed with Emigrants', with at least 500 horsemen present.(42) In typically English fashion, the hosts took great amusement at the Frenchmen's poor hunting abilities, scarcely fifty of them lasted to the end of the hunts.

Evidence of activity of the French refugee merchants is much scarcer. Most of these people had managed to salvage some money, therefore the attraction of the heart of the Capital, London would have been greater. Many wished to return quickly so that they could resume loading. The Hampshire Chronicle featured reports of merchants arriving at Portsmouth and Southampton, describing how property had become a crime.(43) Under Napoleon, the French system was stabilised and most of these Merchants were quickly attracted back. With England in financial turmoil for most

of the period up to 1801, there would be few opportunities for business ventures for Frenchmen.

The mass French Emigration had tremendous impact upon Hampshire, especially during the period 1792 to Amiens Peace of 1801-2. Some did stay, but the majority went back to France to try and start their lives again. When war broke again until 1815, a mass exodous on same scale, never emerged. The authorities had a key role to play in controlling the Emigrants in Hampshire, in such a county susceptable to attack all Frenchmen had to be regarded as potentially dangerous. The plight of the Priests became an important tool of propaganda and the State realised it was in it's own interests to give help. The example of sheets being moved from Haslar Hospital, Portsmouth to Forton and Winchester illustrates how much the resources had to be stretched to provide basics for survival.(44) Finally the range of Emigrants can be seen as quite, the passports even indicate a student travelling from Winchester to Portsmouth and Southampton.(45)

CHAPTER TWO

FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR 1792 - 1815

The Wars with France during this period introduced French Prisoners of War to Hampshire on unprecedented scale. They had a profound effect on the social, economic and cultural life of the County. Prisoners were kept in full scale, high security in confinement in places such as Portchester Castle and on Parole in the small market towns of Hampshire. Prisoners of War, like the issue of the Emigrants, if dealt with in the right manner could prove to be a useful propaganda weapon for the authorities. If the English were seen to be treating them with dignity and humanaity compared to the French ill-treating Prisoners of War, the image of good against evil could be preserved. This matter was taken by the newspapers, publishing details of British Prisoners being kept in 'deplorable' conditions, using information from the few letters which emerged from the continent.(1) This Chapter will deal with the Prisoners in two sections, Parole and the Prisons.

Parole Prisoners were usually Officers, who in their capacity as 'men of honour' were trusted not to escape from their 'open' captivity in the small town or village in which they were placed. Hampshire's small market towns (see Map 2) proved very suitable for the purpose. In such places

they could be easily monitered and would be recognized by most members of the community. They would then be expected to do their duty in apprehending them at times of escape or other mis-behaviour. To ensure this, the Prisoners were overseen by a local appointed agent. The number of Parole Prisoners in Hampshire reached its peak in 1810, 520 were resident in the County out of a national total of just 2,000.(2) Hampshire at this point therefore held over 25% of Britain's Parole Prisoners. This illustrates the scale of the problem of sheer numbers of these men to accomodate.

Seven places can be identified housing them:- Alresford, Odiham, Andover, Winchester, Lymington, Petersfield and Bishop's Waltham. Different pieces of evidence from each place help to build up a picture of these Prisoners. Alresford contained 200 Prisoners between 1808 and 1814.(3) Tombstones in the Churchyard indicate deaths of officers while still in captivity. One such example is Pierre Garnier who died in July 1811.

At these places, limits to the Parole were set. The limit was normally about one mile in a radius around the town. The Prisoners were free to move anywhere within this area, most simply walked around the Parole limits as a way of relaxation. Place names are useful in this instance, in, Bishop's Waltham, the name 'Frenchmans Bridge' is a clear example of a visible landmark being used to mark the limit.(4) Prisoners breaking this or being out before 6

a.m. and before sunset were subject to a fine. This fine would be down to the Agent for the Prisoners in the town. If it was a frequent occurence there was the possibility of being taken out of Parole and put in a prison, therefore losing all freedom. At Odiham a large oak was used and is still known today as 'Frenchmen's Oak'.(5) An unqualified story at Odiham exists about a resident of the town, who would lie in wait and pounce upon Prisoners breaking the limit, whether purposefully or accidently. For catching anyone this man would receive 1s.as a reward.(6) This was most probably something which happened quite often, illustrating that relations with local residents were not totally stable.

There is however, much evidence to suggest that the life of Prisoners on Parole in Hampshire was not as unpleasant as might be first thought. This contradicts the statement of the writings of an American traveller in 1811, L. Simond, who described wandering prisoners he saw as being 'desoeuvres and tired'.(7) (It is probable that the Prisoners he saw were at Alresford). The bias of an American, writing only fourty years after the war with England must be considered. Prejudice against them would have still existed and therefore he might have wanted to present the treatment of the French Prisoners in an unfavourable light. An indication of the French view, their stay and treatment can be seen several generations later

during the Paris commune of 1871. In this year Alresford received several refugees due to the good reputation it must have gained during its use for Parole Prisoners.(8)

An excellent source on the matter of the treatment and the relationship with local residents may be found at the Hampshire Records Office, Winchester. Various original letters of Prisoners on Parole at Petersfield to Henry Bonham, a leading figure in local society are available. By the regulations, they were permitted to write letters to any person they chose, either in Britain or abroad.(9) The letters, written in English and French provide many different insights (see Appendix 2.1). One of the most interesting is a letter from the French Commission for the exchange of Prisoners of War, the London office. Addressed to Bonham it thanks him for his help in defending the Prisoners against charges of misconduct, expressing in the last sentence, 'sincere gratitude for your humanaity towards my unfortunate Countrymen'.(10) Other letters from Paroled Prisoners are full of gratitude and thanks for Bonham's help during their stay. Several were written in a very good style and correct grammatical English. One Officer, G. Mafsey, actually sent his letter of thanks from France. In one instance a Paroled Officer has to decline a dinner invitation from Bonham as he is already dining with a friend who is leaving for France. Cultural life is also illustrated in a letter thanking Bonham for the books he

has lent out. An example from Odiham helps to prove how culturally involved they were. In 1806 a Prisoner at Odiham wrote, 'Je m'associa aux reunions philharmoniques'(11)

Examining Henry Bonham's role is significant as he was an influential local figure. The Bonham family had links with the important Carter family of Portsmouth. Sir John Carter, Mayor of Portsmouth, inherited the Bonham name in 1826.(12) There were Religious Dissenting links with both branches of the family. Many Dissenters hated war, which was true of Henry Bonham who was known to be pacifically minded.(13)

Many Prisoners did however try to breach their Parole and escape (see Appendix 2.3). If they were caught, re-imprisonment at Portchester Castle was likely. Newspapers made much of any of these instances. This was general propaganda perpetrating the idea that the French were a dishonourable and untrustworthy nation, to an even greater extent under the new Republican System. The Hampshire Chronicle talked about Officers of the 7 years war as being 'gentleman of honour and probity'.(14) The current war was definitely a war which broke all traditional values concerning conduct. For the first time, the French authorities, especially under Napoleon, encouraged Parole Prisoners to escape. For many of the Prisoners their Patriotic nature overtook the risk of losing all privileges

obviously more common at places such as Portchester. From 1794, however a case stands out of the Prisoners helping the community. A fire started to spread at Bishop's Waltham and they acted with 'credit and honour in preventing the fire to cause any major damage or loss of life'.(15)

The inhabitants of the towns would face serious penalties if they aided in any escape attempts. Motives could have been purely financial or due to Republican spirit (Chapter 3). For aiding 6 Frenchman to escape their Parole at Alresford, William Croucher spent a year in prison and had to pay a fine of 15 guineas.(16) It was a crime which was treasonable and he could have faced execution. In 1811, the Hampshire Chronicle held a report in the advertisements section, as the example of two men convicted at Leek, for doing the same, as a warning to potential criminals'.(17)

The focus should now be moved to the area of the care provided for the Parole Prisoners. As mentioned earlier, The French upheld few traditional ethics, this was reflected in the failure of the French Government to pay towards the keeping of the Prisoners. Care was first of all in the hands of the Sick and Hurt Board and then the Transport Board, established in 1799, took responsibility.(18) Subsistence allowances were paid to the Officers. Out of this money rent would have to be paid, this was 10s.a week in Bishop's Waltham for example.(19) In most of the towns they could earn extra from teaching French. In each Parole

town, the Transport Board appointed an agent. This person was responsible for dealing with the distribution of allowances and reporting back about behaviour. In 1810 at Alresford, the agent was John Dunn.(20) The Transport Board would provide positive help in situations such as the prosecution of a Parole Prisoner against an Odiham inhabitant who assaulted him. A.C. Blaize, the Frenchman, won his case and his assailant J. Kinchin was 'convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £10 and also enter into a recognizance himself in £100 and two sureties in £50.'(21) The Derby Mercury commented upon the matter; 'This we trust, will convince the inhabitants of this Kingdom that they may not assault French Prisoners of War on Parole with impunity'.(22) This episode illustrates the respect which Parole Prisoners were given. The English authorities wanted to prove that they had ability to give these rights, even when the French didn't.

The attitude of the Church to the Parole Prisoners is important, as it makes a useful comparison with the Religious Section of Chapter One. The examination of Churchwardens' account books for the Parole towns reveals no evidence of philanthropic donations. This could mean that these Parishes did not want to be seen giving money officially. Donations could have been made via items such as coal, bread and clothing. Some of the Prisoners were Roman Catholics and therefore it is possible that visits

were made by the Priests, as mentioned in the first Chapter.

The second half of this Chapter will now examine Prisoners of War in confinement, where life was far harsher, the Prisons used being subject to strict security. The two main Prisons used in Hampshire were Portchester and Forton at Gosport. Prisoners were also held in small numbers at Hilsea Barracks, Portsmouth and the King's House at Winchester. The hulks in Portsmouth were another important holding place, but cannot be put in the same category as Portchester and Forton. Portchester could accomodate 8,000 in its pre-medieval structure.(23) (see Figure 2.1) As the War progressed from 1793 onwards, Prisoner numbers rose steadily, to 5,000 in 1795, by the end of that year, to 7,000.(24) In 1796 and 1810 overcrowding was reported as a problem in newspapers.(25) This illustrates the forefront position Hampshire was taking in receiving so many Prisoners. For the whole period it held near 50% of the Prisoners in Great Britain. The Castle would often have to be ready to take large influxes. In February 1797, 1400 troops were captured at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire making an attempted attack upon the Welsh Coast.(26)
The Forton Prison at Gosport had a smaller capacity of just 4,000.(27) The Prison saw a very fast movement of Frenchmen, as many were just held there, when they were brought in by ship, to be taken on to Portchester or the Northern Prisons.

Portchester Castle operated as its own special community within Hampshire, it therefore, like any other society developed a criminal element. St. Auben, a literate Prisoner in the Castle for most of the War described fighting and gambling as widespread activities.(28) In 1796 an inquisition took place at Portchester into the murder of Nicholas Chartieu stabbed by Vallere Coftre, a fellow prisoner.(29) The death was said to have resulted from a disagreement over politics. His execution on Portsdown Hill at 6 a.m. was seen as a great spectacle with 7,000 people attending.(30) In 1813, an other murder happened, this time over religion. The murderer was a professed atheist, as most of the Prisoners were. The execution this time was at the Castle in front of the 7,000 Prisoners there. The French were used to the Guillotine as the form of execution, hanging therefore was shock to them.(31)

The Castle had a surprisingly important economic significance in Hampshire and to the locality of Portsmouth particularly. A lace manufacture industry grew up within the Castle, 3,000 people were involved at its peak. Many 'Capitalists' took charge and employed up to 50 workmen.(32) The way this system emerged shows the hierarchal, minature society had developed. Many other articles were made on a smaller scale, such as straw hats and bone carvings. At regular intervals, an informal market would be held with local people. Money or food would be swapped for these

items in most cases.(33) The Prisoners looked forward to these markets and they also became well attended by the inhabitants. The effect of this was strong enough for the local lace manufacturers to get the British Association to petition Parliament, leading to the machinery being destroyed.(34) Relevant papers for turnpike trusts give no record of any prisoners working on the roads, something convicts had done in the past.(35) This would seem to indicate that the Prisoners were mainly left to work amongst themselves in the Prisons.

In a similar way, the Prison theatre also became very successful. Opera, comedy and tragedy were all performed at the Castle. Many local people began to come and see these very well staged performances. The popularity grew throughout the 1790's and to visit the French Theatre at Portchester became socially fashionable. This important cultural element was stopped due to Portsmouth Theatre managers petitioning Parliament to forbid the attendance of the public. When two Prisoners escaped with members of the audience in 1795, an excuse was provided to stop the shows.(36) Like the philharmonic Society at Odiham, this development of a cultural identity within the Castle, spread out and effected the local community. The fact that the Prisoners were able to put on such good plays, illustrated the wide social base at Portchester.

For the newspapers, however, the most reported matter

was conduct of Prisoners and escapes in particular. (see Table, Appendix 2.3). For the first half of the war, especially the Prisoners were very restless. At Forton it was reported that, 'they cannot bear their captivity with moderation and temper'. This led to General Hyde, the Military Governor of Portsmouth, banning all National dress and the songs of the French Prisoners.(37) In 1798 General Sir William Pitt, now Governor, wrote to the Duke of York, in anxiety about the threat of mass escape:

> Should such a daring attempt be made by the enemy, under the expectation of liberating the Prisoners in the proximity of this place, I cannot be responsible for the consequences.... they (the Prisoners) consider themselves ten thousand already landed only waiting the arrival of their army to operate with them.(38)

In February 1797 the most serious of all the disturbances broke out at Portchester (see account, Appendix 2.4). The riotious behaviour started when a plot to escape was discovered. A Parliamentary report a month later stated the problem of mass breakouts, prompted by the events at Portchester.(39) Some escapes were successful, in 1794, 20 prisoners escaped through a hole in the 'privvy' and only 8 were recaptured.(40) From 1799, the Prisoners had to wear yellow jackets and caps, with T.B. (Transport Board), printed on the back. This would obviously make them easy to

recapture. There was the problem that these uniforms would have created a feeling of solidarity amongst the Prisoners. The greater concentration of escapes comes in the first half of the war 1793 - 1801, in the second half slightly improved conditions and less patriotic fervour added some stability . An example similar to the Parole Prisoners at Bishop's Waltham can be seen in 1807. A major fire started at Forton Prison, supposedly caused by the inattention of plumbers and carpenters. It lasted for over 7 hours and the Hampshire Telegraph gave praise:

> It is but bad justice not to mention the exemplary conduct of the Prisoners who behaved in the most quiet and orderly manner, offering their assistance in any way that might be required....We positively contradict the report given in some of the daily papers, that some of the Prisoners had escaped, not one of the poor fellows attempted any such thing.(41)

It should now be examined how the authorities organised the Prisons. Attention had to be paid to security, at Portchester 100 sentries were posted around the Castle at night.(42) Militia afrom various parts of England were used in conjunction with the Royal Marines. Movements of these troops escorting Prisoners would have been a frequent sight in Hampshire. In 1800, the Government spent £475,000 on the transport and moving of the Prisoners.(43) The use of the Militia illustrates how strong the Military presence was in

Hampshire, partly due to the Prisoners of War. The Garrison orders of Marines from March 1800, hold records of a trial of a Captain from the Banffshire Fencible Infantry. He was charged with neglect of duty by quitting the main guard at Portchester. This was, 'a Charge of Considerable importance, in respect of the French Prisoners there confined'.(44) The authorities were reliant on good conduct by these troops, the safety of the County and Nation was at stake. The Militia played a vital role in stabilising society in general, as will be shown in the final Chapter.

The supply of the Prisons was operated by a Contract System. In 1795 the Victualler of the Stores for Portchester was a Mr. Hollis.(45) The Transport Office placed advertisements in publications such as The London Gazette, inviting tenders for 6 months for victualling for healthy Prisoners of War.(46) Occasionally food would arrive from France. In April 1800, loaves of bread arrived at Portchester from the French Cartel. 1800 was a time of food shortage and the Times wrote, 'the Grand Consul has succeeded in making it believed that the English are actually perishing from famine!'.(47) Portchester Castle was owned by Mr. Thistlewaite, who actually rented it to the Government, the amount of this is unknown.(48) At peace in 1802, the buildings were advertised, 'to be let to the highest bidder', by the local transport agent.(49) This is clear evidence of the way in which the peace was thought to

be a lasting one and that the Castle had been totally cleared of Prisoners.

The sick were housed at the hospital at Forton, at the peak of its use it held 800 in 1810.(50) Health of the Prisoners was an important issue in the debate over ill-treatment. Resentful Frenchmen would over-emphasize the unhealthy nature of the Prisons, when given a chance to complain officially. 800 Prisoners sick out of a total of more than 10,000 in Hampshire in 1810 is a quite reasonable figure for the time. Sir Gilbert Blane, investigating health of seamen, criticised Portchester for 'bad air, dull uniformity of life and depression of spirits', which could extenuate ill-health.(51) The spread of fever in Forton, was a worry and a threat to the people of Gosport. In one month in 1794, some 200 prisoners died at Forton of malignant fever.(52)

There were times, when the Prisons were at capacity, that conditions were very bad. It would be likely therefore to presume that the Churches nearby made some charitable donations. However, the result is the same as for the Parole towns. Records for the Parishes of St. Thomas and St. Mary give no reference. The only possibility is from February 1809 when a Mr. Kitson at Portchester Castle is payed 5s. 7d. for an undisclosed reason.(53) The French Catholic Priests from Portsmouth did, however make visits at times of need, often when Catholic Prisoners died. Delarue,

mentioned in the First Chapter made visits to the hulks, Portchester and Forton.(54)

Finally, a mention must be made of the hulks in Portsmouth harbour. These floating prison ships were used for French Prisoners and Civilian convicts. Over 5,000 Prisoners of War were kept there, at the peak of the War in 1797 and 1810. Life in the hulks would have been the harshest of the forms of captivity. They were mainly used in the same capacity as Forton, that is as a holding point. Less contact with the outside was made, so little known about them. The published memoirs of Louis Garneray do provide an excellent graphic description of the harsh conditions and the desperate urge to escape. These escapes often ended in death, as Prisoners would try and swim to the shore. For the Marines, guard duty on the hulks, was one of the most disagreeable parts of their Service. Many were certified unfit for further service on the return to the division.(55) (An excellent painting by Garneray of the hulks is on display at Portsmsouth City Museum).

The effect upon Hampshire of the Prisoners of war had been profound and varied. The Parole and confined Prisoners led very different lives. On parole, there was a chance to integrate into the society. On this matter relations imnproved as the war went on. The confined Prisoners managed to create a community within a community and were always a threat to National security. As with the

Emigrants, the Prisoners became part of popular memory of a cosmopolitan Hampshire Society. The final word in this Chapter will be given to Louis Garneray. This quote illustrates the futility of the war of propaganda and shows that the French were fellow men, with the same feelings and emotions about War.

> More and More astonished, I repeated my question.
> 'Peace has been signed', he said in a strangled voice.
> 'We are free!'
> I felt weak and burst into tears myself ....I was so completely happy that I no longer had any hatred for the English. Why think about the past?.(56)

CHAPTER THREE

RIOTS AND INSURRECTION IN HAMPSHIRE 1789 - 1815

The French Revolution and the Wars of 1793 - 1815 placed strains and tensions upon English Society to a far greater extent than any other period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In August 1797, the Hampshire Chronicle remarked that, 'during the American War, conversation at Portsmouth Point had been about whether any prizes had been brought in'. Now, said the Newspaper, the question was, 'Is there going to be an execution today?(1) Hampshire and Portsmouth especially, were at the front of the many aspects of the French Wars. They were therefore a very visible part of the lives of the residents of Hampshire. Such a large involvement in the wars made the residents alert and often knowledgeable of French Revolutionary ideas about 'Freedom' and 'Liberty'. The purpose of this Chapter is to examine patterns in the Political struggles, military violence and the economic strife.(2) The turmoil of the period 1795 - 1803, will be the area which is focused on particularly.

Before presenting material which illustrates Hampshire's role in the instability of the 1789 - 1815 period, it is important to present a national and international context. In 1789, the French Revolution swept

away the Monarchy and a Republic was declared. The new Constitution was based upon ideas which had prevailed during the formulation of the American Constitution. The work of Thomas Paine, 'The Rights of Man' was a key influential text for these new Republics. The book came to be regarded by the authorities as a highly dangerous piece of agitationary literature. First of all in England, the reaction of many people, was not one of fear. In 1788, the Centenary of the 'Glorious Revolution' focused the minds of the English people back to what 'freedom' and a constitution meant. If the French Revolution was in the same context as the 'Revolution of 1688 it could only be an improvement to the French Constitution. However, when the Revolution entered a new phase of terror in 1792, reports from France became increasingly graphic in their description of the bloodiness of the Terror. As has been illustrated in the first Chapter, the destitute Catholic Clergy arriving in Hampshire in hoards was a strong example to the inhabitants of the County. Edmund Burke espoused the ideas of popular Conservatism in his answer to Thomas Paine, 'Reflections on the Revolution in France'. He talked about events in France as a,

> warning to all Britons that if Radicals at home and revolutionaries abroad were not resisted, the consequences would be destruction of the established order in Church and State, the undermining of social harmony, the elimination of justice and incitement to the impoverished

masses to plunder the possessions of the Propertied Classes.(3)

For the following period, the term 'reactionary panic' has been used to describe the way in which the Government of Pitt the Younger became increasingly repressive towards any form of radicalism.

Historians, such as E.P. Thompson have seen the 1790's as the formative period in the 'Making of the English Working Class'. In these years groups such as the London Corresponding Society (L.C.S.) emerged to start playing an important role as a radical reforming organisation. The year 1795 was one of crisis, characterised by war dislocation and crop failures, leading to spiralling food prices. Food rioting and demonstrations took place all across the Country. Thompson focusses upon the events in London in particular. In October, the King went to open Parliament and was confronted by as many as 200,000 Londoners shouting 'Down with Pitt', 'No War', 'No King', 'No Pitt' and 'Pence'.(4) The theory he puts forward, sees the L.C.S. becoming increasingly based upon the working class/artisanal groups in society. As the L.C.S. was an organisational force behind many of the demonstrations, Thompson points towards there being independent, direct working class action. Thompson also puts forward important ideas about food, riots not just being indiscriminate 'mob' action. Many food riots must be viewed in terms of a highly

complex form of direct popular action.(5)

The three major urban communities: Portsmouth, Winchester and Southampton will be main area of focus in trying to put the riots and insurrection into a Hampshire context. These communities will be compared and contrasted, to see whether it is possible to put forward an overall picture for Hampshire. First of all, the differences in reaction of the various authorities in the County should be examined. In May 1792, the royal Proclamation against seditious writings was introduced. Most of the major towns in Hampshire addressed of support to the Crown. There was a difference in the way Portsmouth and Gosport expressed their support. The language used by Portsmouth's Corporation was guarded, 'The Government of this Country by Kings, Lords and Commons has by experience been happily proved to be the safeguard of our Liberties'. At Gosport, in contrast, they spoke of 'our present glorious Constitution' and of the 'nefarious endeavours of wicked, designing and ungrateful men'.(6) The addresses from Southampton and Winchester were also more enthusiastic than the one from Portsmouth. The County's address from Winchester said 'we feel a happiness and pride in testifying our duty to your Majesty'.(7) In the early years of the French Revolution a popular way to express loyalty would be to burn effigies of people such as Thomas Paine. The Hampshire Chronicle helped to put forward the message by reporting these events:

> ....the figure was hung on a gallows erected for that purpose, and, a fire being kindled, it was burnt to ashes.... the same detestation of the principles and character of this incendiary have been shown at Ringwood, Alresford, Overton, and at a number of other towns in this County.(8)

In 1795, the difference of the attitudes of the authorities across Hampshire was over the two bills on Treasonable and Seditious practices and Seditious meetings. This action was prompted by events in 1795, which threatened to de-stabilise the British regime. In November a Petition from Portsmouth and Portsea to the Commons was sent against the two proposed bills.(9) In contrast the City, Close, College and Suburbs of Winchester petitioned in favour.(10) Why was this so? Was it an indication as to how the two places' inhabitants would behave or were behaving?

The fact that Portsmouth sent such a petition, illustrates how the Liberal Whig grouping, headed by John Carter, held the balance of power in the Corporation. The Political struggles are illustrated by the fact that a counter petition was put forward at the meeting on 23 November to discuss the sending of a petition. The counter prayed that the Government would pass the bill and was signed by the Garrats, Arnauds, Deacons and others 'much interested in Government Contracts'.(11) One of the supporters of the petition against the bills was Daniel Havard who has been described as one of the 'angry young

men' of the eighteenth century. His advocacy of Civil and Religious Liberties rendered him and his companions suspect, compelling them to hold meetings in a boat at Spithead, to avoid detection. However, by 1818 he was Mayor, serving on three subsequent occasions in 1822, 1826 and 1830.(12) Portsmouth's position as a town characterised by religious non-conformity and political liberalism challenged the Tory dominance of Hampshire and Admiralty control of Portsmouth.(13) In the town, leading figures were prepared to be openly radical to a certain extent. The example of William Jones, a druggist, serves to illustrate this. In October 1796 he was tried at the Portsmouth Sessions for his attempts to 'wilify and traduce the Marquis of Buckingham and Captain Piggot, inflaming members of the tower orders against them'.(14) This trial is very important in the context of the food riots which took place in this year.

By contrast, no opposition came from the Corporations of Winchester and Southampton, where Tory dominance seemed to prevail. The Anglican Capital City of Hampshire, Winchester was steeped in aristrocratic tradition in a far greater way than Portsmouth. Southampton was also regarded to have more noble heritage. this, it must be added, did not mean that these two urban communities were characterised by total peaceful tranquility when Portmuthians were rioting.

The riots of 1795, 1796, 1800 and 1803 were primarily

'food riots' by definition caused by high prices set by traders such as bakers and butchers. These riots must be examined in terms of Thompson's 'moral economy', in terms of a popular consensus against what were considered to be illigitimate practices in marketing, milling, baking and other such activities. The actions of the rioters must be looked at for signs of organisation and consideration.(15) Hampshire's role in supplying the Military and Navy, placed great strain on agricultural produce such as wheat. With the Counry at War very little would be imported. (see Graph, Appendix 3.1). In 1795, total wheat imports fell below 300,000 imperial quarters. The fact, that in 1796, three times as much wheat was imported illustrates how 1795 was the peak of the problem.(16)

The situation in 1795 was seen as important enough for the Portsmouth borough to send a petition to Parliament regarding the high price of provisions:

> A Petition of the Mayor, Justices, and Inhabitants, of the Borough of Portsmouth, was presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, that the present Calamaties and Distresses of the Poor are rendered very great on Account of the high prices of almost every Article of the Necessaries of Life, and that those Grieviences urge the unhappy Sufferers to Tumult and Riot, and tend greatly to the Disturbance of the Public Pence: And therefore beseeching the House to adopt such measures as shall be thought proper to alleviate such Calamaties, and secure the Public Peace.(17)
> (24 April,1795)

This action had been taken because of the 'mob riots' which were already taking place in Portsmouth.(18) On 12 April, the Mayor, John Carter, had written to the Duke of Portland at e Home Office about a, 'very disagreeable business that was likely to happen at this place with respect to the high price of provisions'.(19) Carter writing as he feared the events of the 11th escalating further. On that night 400 - 500 people assembled demanding meat and bread at certain prices, those who refused had their shops gutted.(20) The soldiers in the garrison at Portsea also made similar demands. This was obviously the great fear of the authorities - that Military personnel would support the rioters.

Similar circumstances again prevailed in 1796, this time in Southampton and Portsmouth, again in the month of April. This time in Portsmouth, up to 5,000 people were involved. The crowd was reportedly well disciplined, which was the hallmark of the involvement of the Dockyard workers. Three of the leaders were arrested, but the crowd released them from the lock up. The Militia was used to break up the crowd successfully.(21) The Buckinghamshire Militia and Yeoman Cavalry had stayed loyal to the authorities and enabled the riot act to be enforced. At Southampton an assize set the price of the gallon loaf at 1s. 5d. Several bakers refused to abide by this, whereupon a mob smashed their windows, burnt two of them in effigy and

pulled down part of a house.(22)

In 1800, the food rioting took place with greater frequency throughout the whole County. At the small town of Alresford, an 'unlawful and tumultious assembly' took place on 25 September.(23) The Berkshire Militia and Cornish Miners Militia, who were in the town escorting French Prisoners, put down this disturbance over food prices.(24) Also in September, at Hambledon an 'intended riot occasioned by the continued high price of grain', was discovered. The Corps of Volunteers gained praise for their loyalty, even though 'most of the Privates are of the lower order and experiencing difficulties from the present high prices of provisions.(25) On 4 September, John Latham, Mayor of Romsey wrote to the Home Office with 'infinite concern' over a paper struck up in the town. It concerned a threatened visit from up to one hundred of the 'New Forresters', to take action over the high price of provisions. The Mayor urged the need for a body of troops to be sent.(26) This is an important illustration of how groups of people got together in occupational groups to put pressure on the authorities about matters such as provisions.

In contrast Portsmouth seemed to be quieter, especially in comparison to events of 1795 and 1796. In September Mayor Goldson was able to inform the Duke of Portland that 'since my last letter to your Grace the Towns have continued perfectly tranquil and quiet'.(27) There was, however, much

activity which began to worry the Mayor. He enclosed an inflamatory document for which he had offered a reward of £250 for information leading to the arrest of its originators. The document (see Appendix 3.2) was well written illustrated a good level of literacy amongst leading radicals in Portsmouth, some of them were likely to have had Working Class origins. On the 20th of that month, an address to the 'Gentlemen of the Dockyard' was enclosed by Goldson. It talked in radical terms that 'statesmen enjoy the fruits of your labour'. The document ended with the sentence: 'one more Glorious struggle let us make and if we fail lets perish for this sake'. The address was signed by over 30 marks (x).(28)

This document was regarding the Dockyard workers as the potential Revolutionary force in Portsmouth, it is therefore important to consider this factor. During the French Wars the Dockyard was the most important employer in the town. The workforce rising from 2,300 in 1792 to 3,500 in 1810 (see Appendix 3.3). The combination of so many workers obviously be potentially dangerous. Two Combination Acts in could 1799 and 1800 had banned combinations of workers from taking strike action.(29) It is debatable as to how far these Acts were actually enforced. The workers illustrated the important role they had in town life when they stepped in to help break up the 1795 riot. Their involvement in 1796 was illustrated by the planning and forethought which must have gone into collecting the Crowd at St. Georges

Square, Portsea and moving part of it to the house of John Carter.(30)

In 1800, they took the considered action of abstaining 'from making any use of any butter, cream, milk and potatoes until prices came down'.(31) This was economic action, clearly and carefully executed. It was taken seriously and an artificer who broke their agreement was carried around the Dockyard and Portsea and treated him with every possible indignity, they then turned him out of their fraternity.(32) The Labour dispute which emerged in 1801, was seen as the civil counterpart of the Naval Mutinies of 1797. 1801 was a critical time for the British War effort. Banned from the Baltic by the league of armed neutrality, she was cut off from her all-important Naval supplies. The workers wanted a wage increase to cover the rise in prices and the intensification of labour which was being required of them. Their strategy was to delay the sailing of the Baltic Fleet. The dispute was settled, with no violence, satisfactorily for both sides, illustrating the solidarity the workers could show to put their point across.(33) The organisation into societies of a potential political nature was not apparent, apart from a United Society formed in 1796. This group of Dockyard workers pulled their economic power together to erect a 'mill, bakehouse and other necessary buildings, intended for the cheaper supplying with bread and

flour'.(34) Although not directly political it contained 881 members and was run along democratic lines (see Appendix 3.4).

There is no evidence, however to link the workers with any of the corresponding societies either from London or in Portsmouth. The L.C.S. did however, try to establish links with the town. It was seen as an important potential area for support due to the base of working men and the strong Naval presence of ordinary seamen. By 1795, a group in Portsmouth was corresponding with London and set up the Portsmouth Constitutional and Corresponding Society. This group claimed to have over thirty members, mainly workingmen and 'the sentiments of nearly all the disinterested in Portsmouth being in our favour, we are sanguine in our expectations, of rapidly increasing our numbers'.(35) The membership did not grow at the rate they wished, however, and it remained a very marginal society in terms of numbers. Recollections of John Binns of the L.C.S. indicate in a visit to Portsmouth, including the Dockyard and Portchester Castle. The threat the authorities felt from such a visit was illustrated by the fact that he was denied entry to the Castle due to intelligence which said that,'a delegate has been sent to Portsmouth to set fire to the Dockyards and liberate the Prisoners'.(36) There are also links with the Spithead Mutiny of 1797 (see last paragraph in this Chapter), this can be obscured by the fact

that a government investigation concluded there were not any. This was due, however, to the hinderance and lack of help from the Whig Corporation of Portsmouth, and this led the investigators into the hopeful conclusion.(37) The role of the corresponding societies can be overstated and the non-involvement of the dockyard personnel illustrates that their involvement in radicalising the populace only succeeded marginally.

Southamapton and Winchester were not seen as potentially radical and this was reflected in the levels of such activity. Southampton was referred to as 'that aristocratic place',(38) any food rioting which did take place was on a smaller scale and was less organised. In Winchester, incidents seemed to be far more isolated. In 1798, a Republican, Wheeler was found guilty under the Sedition Act. He was said to have sung and spoken seditious words. The song included these words;

> Rouse, Britons, rouse
> Rouse from your Studity
> And burst the chains of tyranny.(39)

Although the words were dangerous, the incident cannot be taken as an indication of radicalism being widespread in Winchester. In 1795, the Hampshire Chronicle pointed out the calmness of Winchester;

> Great praise is certainly due to the labouring poor of Winchester and its environs for their peaceable demenour during the present excessive high price of bread.(40)

It was not until 1803, that a real threat to stability at Winchester occurred. John Read, a Colonel, had 500 men under his command, he attempted to use them to lower the sprice of provisions. He threatened to set fire to a house and said, 'it would not be better times, till Bonaparte came'. He was convicted of Sedition and sentenced to six months of imprisonment.(41) The incident is a useful example of how arson could be used as a weapon against such people as bakers. This happened at Odiham in February 1800, when a barn was burnt down.(42)

Hampshire was characterised by riots and radicalism to an extent comparable to any other County outside London in England. These incidents were mainly in the southern half (see Map 3) of the County, reflecting the basic fact that all three major urban communities were in this half. Each community seems to have reacted at different times, reflecting the different nature of the food markets in each area. Portsmouth, having a tradition of a dissenting, Whit Corporation to some extent fostered radical groups which emerged, unlike any other community in the County. The underlying current of loyalty, especially amongst the majority of troops, kept Hampshire from falling into total

instability. Important steps towards organised action by working people and their organisations on economic issues were made in the County. E.P. Thompson's theories do correspond to a certain extent, but the independance of the Dockyard workers from radicalism does contradict the ideas about the L.C.S. and its Portsmuthian branch.

NOTE:

The Spithead Mutiny 1797, was not included in this Chapter due to constraints of space and a desire to express material on Hampshire as a whole. The Mutiny is excellently covered in books by R. Wells, D. Durgan, C. Gill and G. Mainwaring and B. Dobrée.

CONCLUSION

The findings from this dissertation illustrate clearly how strongly Hampshire was effected, the decade of the 1790's being the peak of this activity. The three Chapters are entertwined in such instances, as the threat of rioters liberating large numbers of Prisoners and starting the invasion. The findings for Chapter 3 are particularly important, as they illustrate how widespread riots were in Hampshire, on a scale much larger than first indicated. Looking at the County in a nationwide survey of this phenomenum, therefore cannot be ignored.

For research on the dissertation subject to be taken further, work at the Public Records Office, London would have to be undertaken. Constraints of time and finances made it impossible for this to be done in context of the dissertation.

APPENDIX 1.1

FIGURES RELATING TO THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS

1.	FRENCH CLERGY SUPPORTED BY THE GOVERNMENT	5,000
2.	LAY-PEOPLE DITTO, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN	2,950
3.	CLEARLY, NOT SUPPORTED BY THE GOVERNMENT, AS HAVING MEANS IN THEMSELVES, OR HAVING BY THEIR INDUSTRY	500
4.	EMIGRANTS, NOT SUPPORTED BY GOVERNMENT, AS HAVING SAVED SOME WRECKS OF THEIR FUTURE, INCLUDING OLD PEOPLE, WOMEN, CHILDREN, MAID SERVANTS	3,000
5.	TO WHICH MAY BE ADDED, IN JERSEY	700
	TOTAL	12,150

Figures from the Duke of Portland, published in The Times, 3838 9 March 1797.

APPENDIX 1.2

FIGURES RELATING TO PASSPORTS HELD AT H.R.O.

NUMBER AVAILABLE - 80

OCCUPATIONS OF TRAVELLING FRENCH EMIGRANTS	NUMBER
PRIESTS	76
DEACONS	1
OFFICERS	2
STUDENTS	1

DESTINATIONS	NUMBER
WINCHESTER	50
LONDON	8
DOVER (VIA LONDON)	6
PORTSMOUTH	5
JERSEY (VIA SOUTHAMAPTON)	4
ANDOVER	2
SOUTHAMPTON	1
HAVERSHAM	1
SALISBURY	1
GOSPORT	1
NEWBURY	1

For all passports, arrival and/or destination points were in the County of Southampton (Hampshire).

Source: H.R.O. W/D3/328 Passports issued in the County of Southampton, 1793.

APPENDIX 1.3

EXAMPLE OF PASSPORT FROM H.R.O. W/D3/328

BOROUGH of PORTESMOUTH.

PASSPORT to be granted to Aliens, by the Mayor or other Chief Magiſtrate of the Town or Place, or by a Juſtice of the Peace of the County or Diſtrict in which ſuch Town or Place may be, to which ſuch Aliens may come, by virtue of any Paſſport or Paſſports granted to them after their Arrival in this Kingdom.

29th Day of March 1793.

Suffer to paſs from

Portſmouth to Winchester

The Name and Rank	Occupation or Deſcription
Simeon Louêque	Maid

J. Godwin Mayr

APPENDIX 1.4

EXAMPLE OF PASSPORT FROM H.R.O., W/D3/328

BOROUGH of PORTESMOUTH.

PASSPORT to be granted to Aliens, by the Mayor or other Chief Magiſtrate of the Town or Place, or by a Juſtice of the Peace of the County or Diſtrict in which ſuch Town or Place may be, to which ſuch Aliens may come, by virtue of any Paſſport or Paſſports granted to them after their Arrival in this Kingdom.

22 Day of July 1793.

Suffer to paſs from

Portſmouth to Winchester

The Name and Rank	Occupation or Deſcription
Juan De Gardora	Officer

Jn. Godwin Mayr

GHT RESERVED
reproduced without
ion permission

LIBERTÉ. RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE ÉCHANGE DES PRISONNIERS ÉGALITÉ.

LONDRES, WALCOT-PLACE,

An de la République Française, une & indivisible.

The 15th May 1797.

LE Commissaire de la République Française auprès de l'Administration Britannique, pour l'Echange des Prisonniers de Guerre,

To C. Bonham Esq Petersfield

Sir.

I have been honored with your much esteemed favour of the 9th inst. & it certainly would not have remained unanswered till now, had I not been waiting for the decision of the Lords of the Admiralty, to whom I found a

Letter to H. Bonham of Petersfield from French Commission for the exchange of Prisoners.
Source: H.R.O., 94 M 72/F654.

great delight in shewing upon this occasion.

My Lord I always was convinced that all the Officers on Parade at Petersfield, could not behave otherwise than with the greatest propriety in every respect, but the Complaints that have been founded, & notwithstanding all that I think, I have not been able to guard upon the said Lords

to Cancel the strict order they thought themselves under obligation to give, for the satisfaction of the respectable Families who have addressed, & identified their Complaints. I cannot help remarking of this that your generous conduct in this occasion & in many other, as such as to deserve able speaks of instead of your pleading an apology, accept the assurance of my personal & sincere gratitude for your humanity towards my unfortunate Countrymen & believe me with due regard & respect,

Sir, Your most obt. & Servt.

Jno Morrell

A P P E N D I X 2.3

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF ESCAPES MENTIONED IN THE HAMPSHIRE CHRONICLE, HAMPSHIRE TELEGRAPH AND THE TIMES

NO. OF REPORTS : 31

	PORTS HULKS	PAROLE	FORTON	PORTCHESTER
NUMBER OF PRISONERS ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE 1793 - 1815	35	9	16	106

SUCCESSFUL : 21/166

DEATHS RESULTING FROM ESCAPING : 18

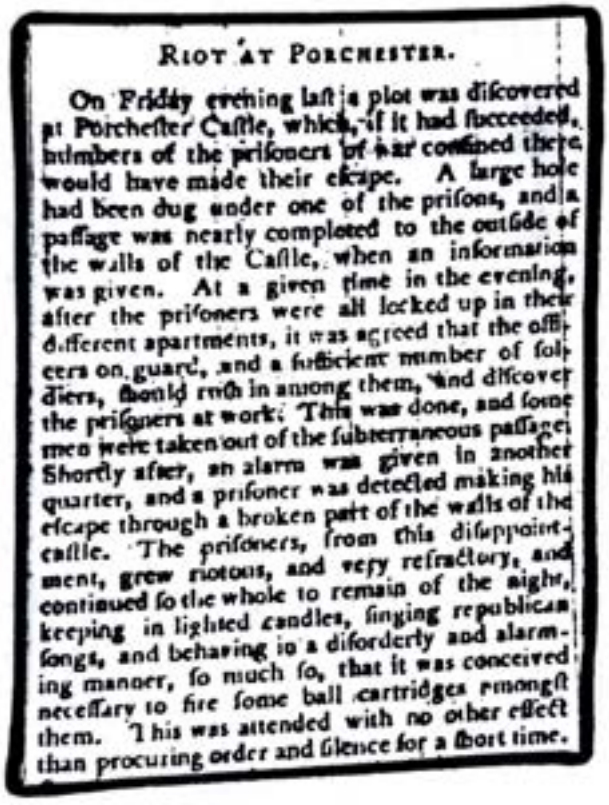
SUCCESS RATE : 13%

PORTCHESTER ESCAPES : 64% OF TOTAL

PEAK YEAR - 1799 : 69 PRISONERS ATTEMPTED TO ESCAPE

(figures cannot be accurate, but are a good illustration of how widely reported they were and the large numbers involved. Admiralty documents at the Public Records Office would have to be consulted)

APPENDIX 2.4



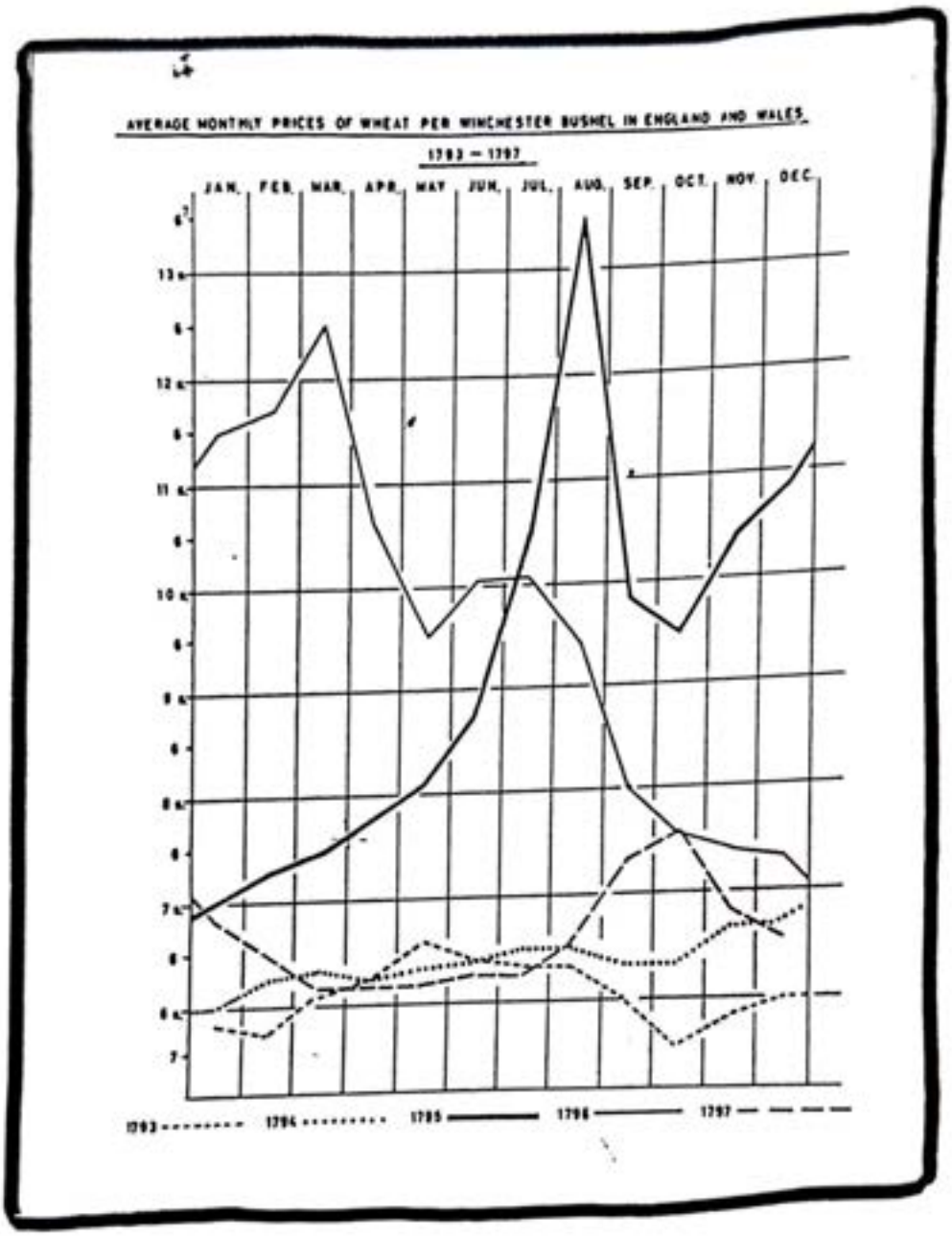
RIOT AT PORCHESTER.

On Friday evening laſt a plot was diſcovered at Porcheſter Caſtle, which, if it had ſucceeded, numbers of the priſoners of war confined there would have made their eſcape. A large hole had been dug under one of the priſons, and a paſſage was nearly completed to the outſide of the walls of the Caſtle, when an information was given. At a given time in the evening, after the priſoners were all locked up in their different apartments, it was agreed that the officers on guard, and a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, ſhould rush in among them, and diſcover the priſoners at work. This was done, and ſome men were taken out of the ſubterraneous paſſage. Shortly after, an alarm was given in another quarter, and a priſoner was detected making his eſcape through a broken part of the walls of the caſtle. The priſoners, from this diſappointment, grew riotous, and very refractory, and continued ſo the whole to remain of the night, keeping in lighted candles, ſinging republican ſongs, and behaving in a diſorderly and alarming manner, ſo much ſo, that it was conceived neceſſary to fire ſome ball cartridges amongſt them. This was attended with no other effect than procuring order and ſilence for a ſhort time.

(Extract of a long report)

Source: H. Chron, 1230 25 Feb 1797

APPENDIX 3.1

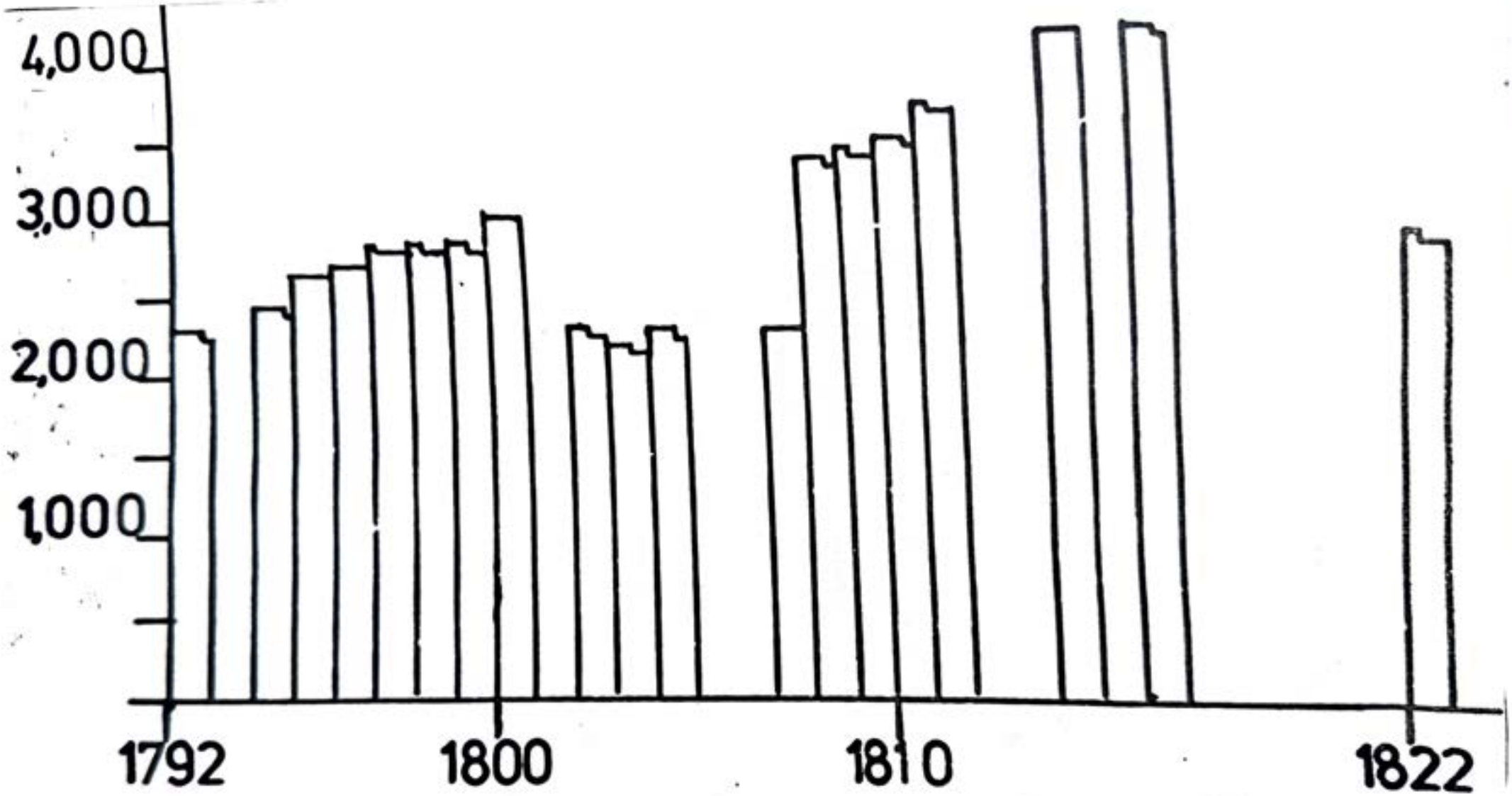


Source: W.M. Stern, The Bread Crisis in Britain 1795 - 6, Economica New Series Vol. XXXI (1964), p. 170.

A P P E N D I X 3.2

A caution
to the Farmer, Miller and Baker
Here three you see
Each of you take your choice
The greatest Rogue
May have the greatest hoise
Repent before too late the time is drawing nigh
Theres no repentance in Eternity
Yet we are friends to all Humanity
You grind us so our children can't get bread
Consider this before you lose your head
You have heard of Bonaparte and his fame
Cause not the like in England to reign
The Halters made
The line is near at hand
That you must make
Your visit from this land
'Old England'

Document enclosed by J. Goldson, Mayor of Portsmouth writing to the Duke of Portland, 10 September 1800: H.O. 42/51.



Graph Source: D. Wilson, Government Dockyard Workers in Portsmouth 1793 - 1815 (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Warwick University 1975), p. 146.

The number of men employed in the Dock Yard

APPENDIX 3.4

ARTICLES.

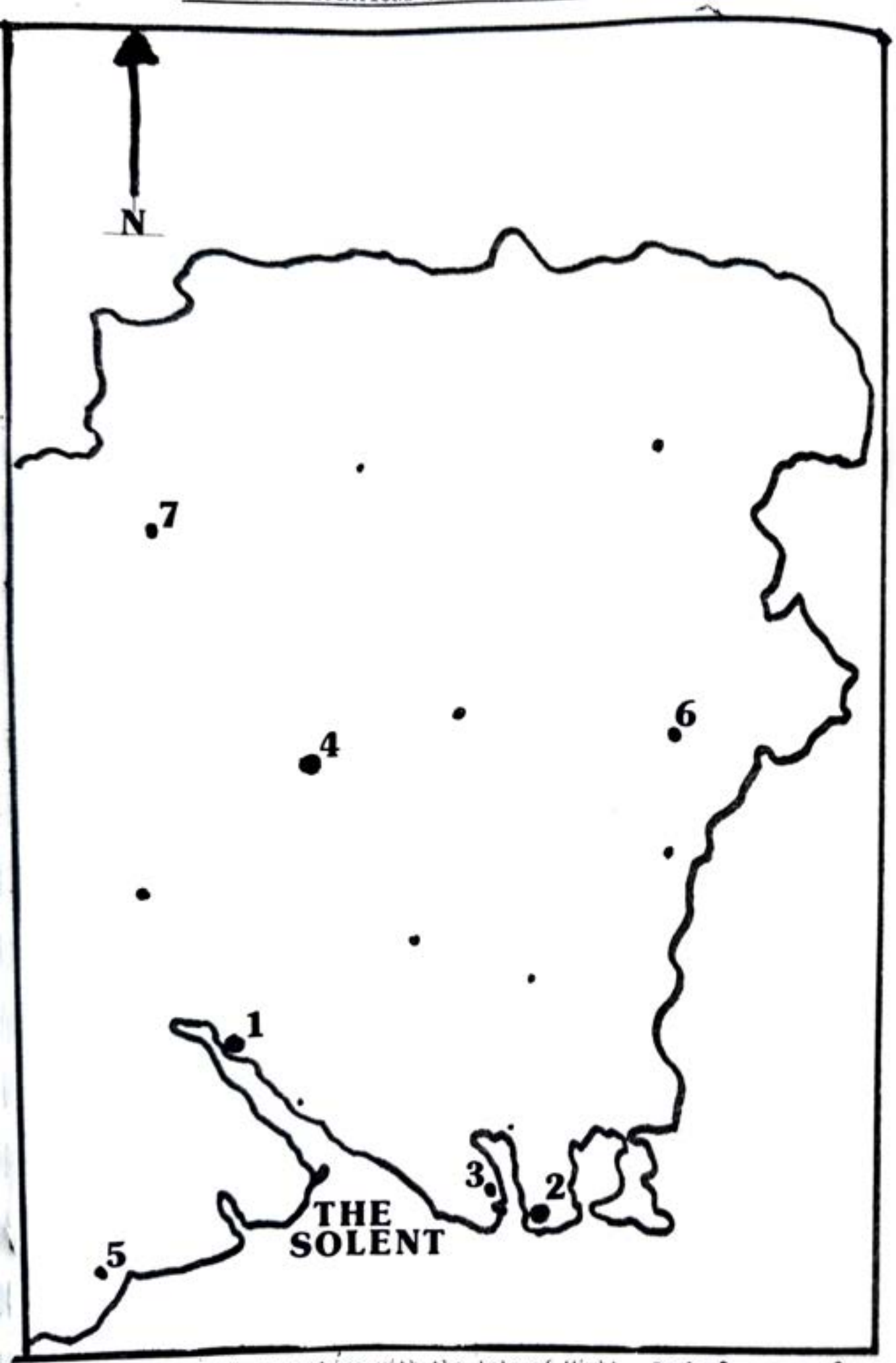
1. THAT this society consist of the people belonging to the Dock Yard, and them only, and that from them a committee of twenty-nine be chosen, consisting of two Quartermen Shipwrights, seven Shipwrights, two Caulkers, two Smiths, two Joiners, two House Carpenters, one Bricklayer, two Sail Makers, two Sawyers, two Rope Makers, two Scavelmen, and three Labourers.

The committee shall be chosen every six months successively, commencing from the first day of January, and first day of July, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the following manner, viz.

The Shipwrights by the representatives of the company's from among themselves, or from any other persons of the class of Shipwrights belonging to the society, and for the other classes, they shall be chosen by the whole of each body; and any person thus chosen and refusing to act, shall pay the sum of five shillings immediately on such refusal, which, together with all other fines and forfeits, shall go to the stock for the benefit of the society; and

Source: Articles of a society established by the name and state of the United Society in the town of Portsea. (1796, revised 1802), p. v.

MAP 1 - LOCATIONS OF EMIGRANTS IN HAMPSHIRE



Source: A. Mee (Ed), Hampshire with the Isle of Wight (Suffolk, 1938), end of book. (Outline)

Scale: 5 miles

KEY TO MAP ILLUSTRATING THE LOCATION OF THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS IN HAMPSHIRE

1. Southampton - Port of entry and holding place. Emigrant troops held here before disembarkation to the Isle of Wight and then on to France.

2. Portsmouth - Port of entry and permanent place of residence for some Priests.

3. Gosport - Port of entry and holding place at Forton hospital.

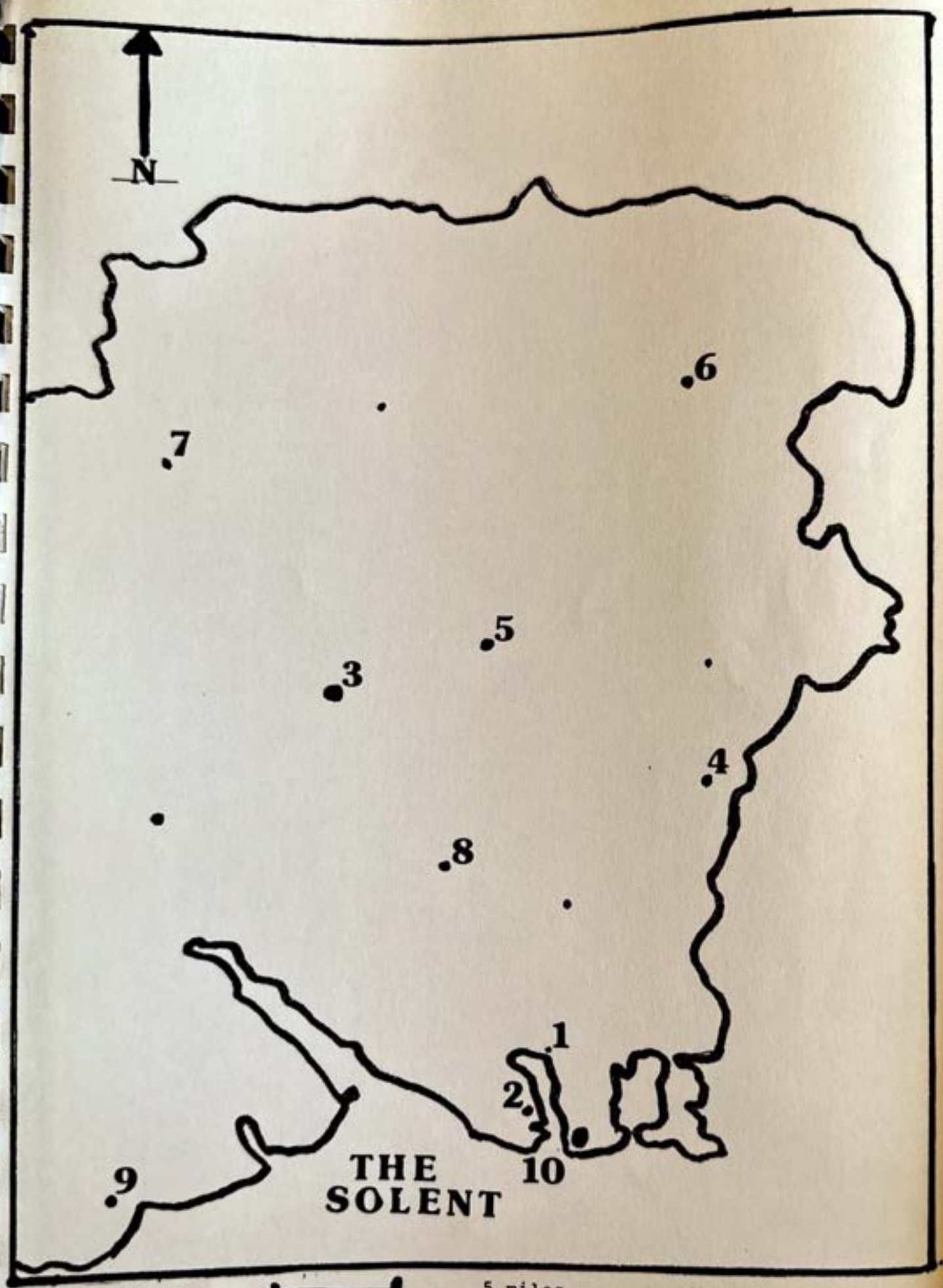
4. Winchester - 1,000 Priests held here 1792-6. Permanent place of residence for Priests and Royalists.

5. Lymington - Three regiments of Royalist Emigrant Corps reside in the town. Some stay and become permanent residents.

6. Kempshott - The Prince Wales hunting residences where 500 Aristocratic Royalists attended a hunt in 1792.

7. Andover - visited by French Priests in 1793. (see Appendix 1.2)

MAP 2 - LOCATIONS OF PRISONERS OF WAR IN HAMPSHIRE



Scale: 5 miles

Source: A. Mee (Ed), Hampshire with the Isle of Wight (Suffolk, 1939), end of book. (Outline)

KEY TO MAP ILLUSTRATING THE LOCATION OF THE FRENCH PRISONERS OF WAR IN HAMPSHIRE

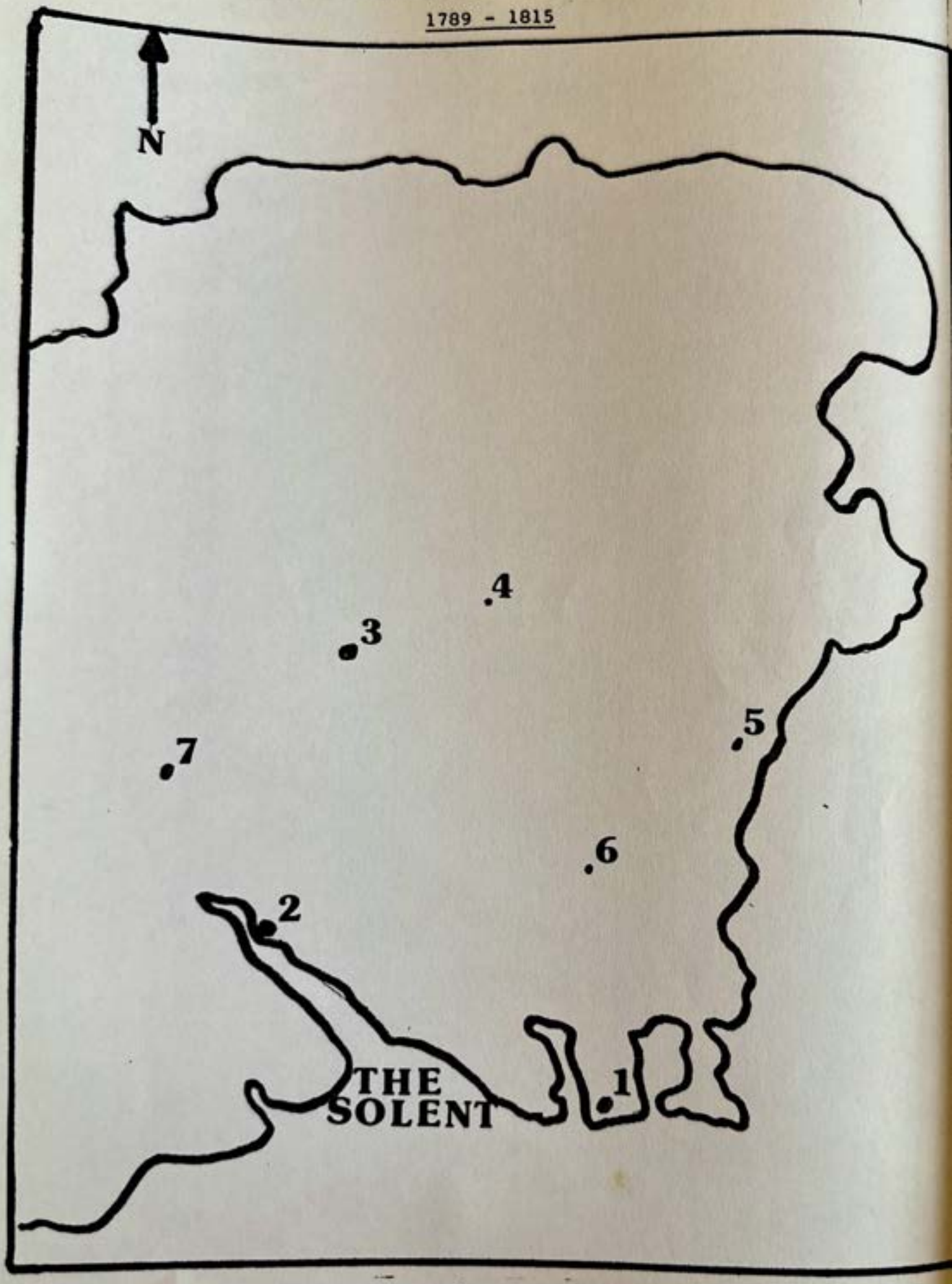
1. Portchester Castle - held up to 7,000 in confinement 1793 - 1814.
2. Forton Prison, Gosport - held up to 4,000 in confinement.
3. Winchester, King's House - used as a holding place for Prisoners being moved in and out of Hampshire.
4. Petersfield - up to 250 Parole Prisoners 1793 - 1801.
5. Alresford - up to 200 Parole Prisoners 1808 - 1814.
6. Odiham - unknown number of Parole Prisoners.
7. Andover - unknown number of Parole Prisoners.
8. Bishop's Waltham - up to 150 Parole Prisoners 1793 - 1814.
9. Lymington - unknown number of Parole Prisoners (small).
10. Portsmouth Hulks - 15,000 Convicts and Prisoners. Up to 5,000 Prisoners.

Hulks :
'Captivity'
'Crown'
'Prothee'
'Royal Oak'
'San Damaso'
'Sultan'
'Vigilant'
'Assistance'

(all known to be used for French POWs)

MAP 3 - INCIDENTS OF RIOT AND DISTURBANCE IN HAMPSHIRE

1789 - 1815



Scale: 5 miles

Source: A.Mee (Ed), Hampshire with the Isle of Wight (Suffolk, 1939). (Outline)

KEY TO MAP SHOWING RIOTS AND DISTURBANCE

1. PORTSMOUTH AND PORTSEA

   Riots 1795 and 1796
   Radical activity and corresponding society. Agitation, 1800.

2. SOUTHAMPTON

   Riots 1796 and 1800.

3. WINCHESTER

   Indictment for Sedition 1798
   Threatened disturbance with troops 1803.

4. ALRESFORD

   Riot 1800.

5. PETERSFIELD

   Intended Riot 1800.

6. HAMBLEDON

   Intended Riot 1800.

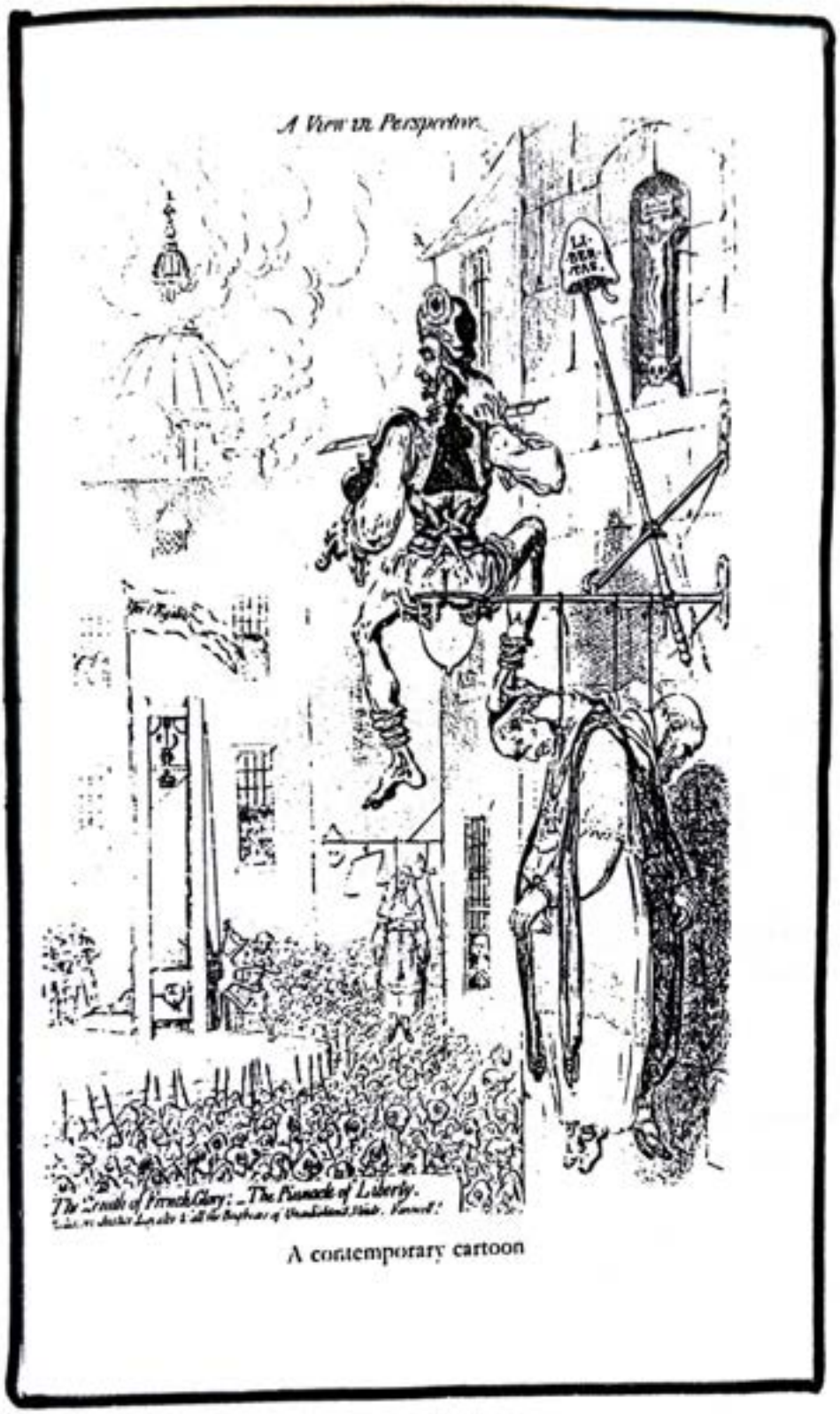
7. ROMSEY

   Intended Riot by Forresters 1800.

MAP 4

Source: R. Wells, Wretched Faces - Famine in Wartime England 1793 - 1801, (Gloucester, 1988), p. 444.

FIGURE 1.1

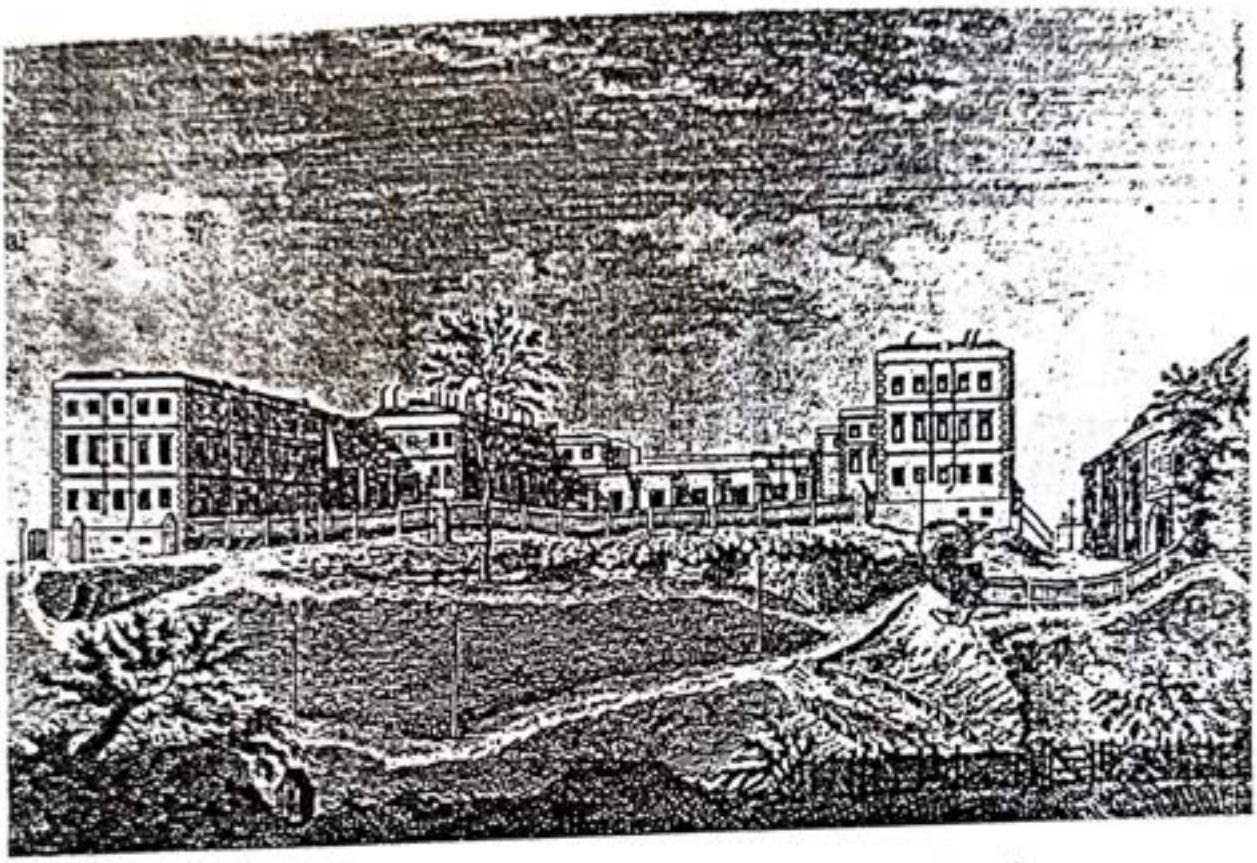


A contemporary cartoon

IMAGE OF A TERRORISED AND PERSECUTED FRENCH CLERGY

Source: M. Weiner, The French Exiles 1789 - 1815 (London 1960), p. 21.

FIGURE 1.2

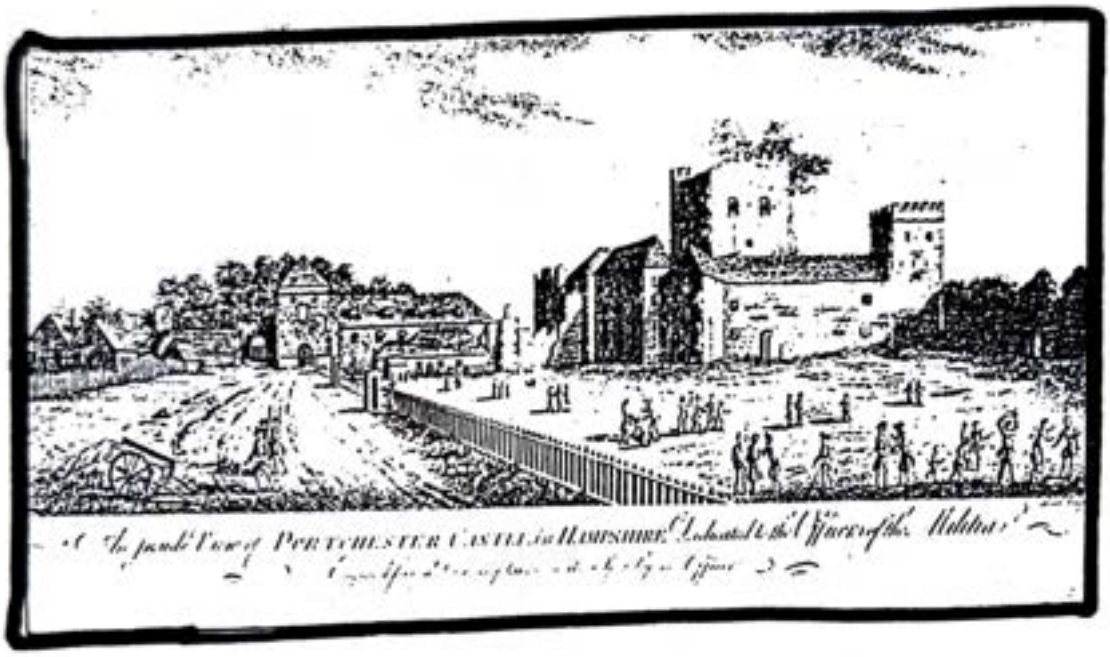


King's House, Winchester

HOME OF EXILED FRENCH CLERGY 1792 - 1796

Source: D.T. Bellenger, The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789 (Bath,1989), p. 75.
(Picture held at Winchester City Museum)

FIGURE 2.1



PORTCHESTER CASTLE IN ITS CONTEMPORARY SETTING

Source: F. Abell, Prisoners of War in Britain 1756 - 1815 (1914), p. 166.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

(Place of publication, unless stated, is London.)

1. V.J.L. Fontana, Rebirth of Roman Catholicism in Portsmouth. (The Portsmouth Papers series No. 56) (1989), p. 6.

2. The Times, 3838 9 March 1797.

3. Ibid.

4. R. Vasey Hamilton and J. Knox Laughton (Eds), Recollections of James Anthony Gardener, Navy Records Society, Vol. XXXI (1906), p. 170.

5. H. Chron, 1021 17 Sept 1792.

6. Ibid., 1023. 1 Oct 1792.

7. L. White, The Story of Gosport (Southampton,1989), p. 63.

8. H. Chron, 1022 22 Sept 1792.

9. D.T. Bellenger, The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789 (Bath, 1986), p. 4.

10. H. Chron, 1024 8 Oct 1792.

11. D.T. Bellenger, 'The French Priests at the King's House, Winchester 1792 - 1796', Proc H.F.C. 40, (1984), p. 99.

12. H. Chron, 1024 8 Oct 1792.

13. The Times, 2420 24 Sept 1792.

14. H.R.O. W/D3/328, Passports issued in the County of Southampton, 1743.

15. The Committee for the relief of suffering French Clergy to the Duke of Portland, 1 March 1793 : H.O. 42/45.

16. H.R.O. W/D3/328.

17. M. Weiner, The French Exiles 1789 - 1815 (1960), p. 21.
18. H.T., 51 30 Sept 1800.
19. H. Chron, 1025 15 Oct 1792.
20. V.J.L. Fontana, op.cit., p. 7.
21. Rev. J. Milner, The History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester (Winchester, 1809), p. 201.
22. The Hampshire Repository, 1798, p. 156.
23. D.T. Bellenger, 'The French Priests at the King's House, Winchester 1792 - 1796', Proc H.F.C. 40, (1984) p. 10.
24. H. Chron, 1125 11 Aug 1794.
25. The Hampshire Repository, 1798, p. 155.
26. The Bishop of Winchester to the duke of Portland, 10 Jan, 1796 : H.O. 42/38.
27. Gentlem an's Magazine, VXVI, 1796, p. 373.
28. The Annual Register, XLII, 1800, p. 163.
29. H. Chron, 1027 29 Oct 1742.
30. Ibid., 1048 3 June 1793.
31. H.R.O. W/K5/8, W.H. Jacob, City of Winchester - Retrospect of Civil Manners and Customs, p. 164.
32. W.G. Gates, Illustrated History of Portsmouth (1900), p. 494.
33. V.J.L. Fontana - op.cit., p. 18.
34. E. King, Old times revisited in the borough and parish of Lymington. (Winchester, 1879), p. 139.
35. Ibid., 1165 25 May 1795.
36. H. Chron, 1165 25 May 1795.
37. A. Temple-Patterson, A History of Southampton 1700 - 1914, Volume 1 - 1700 - 1835 (Southampton, 1966), p. 96.

38. Letter from French Officers to the Duke of Portland, April 1793 : H.O. 42/25.

39. E. King, op.cit., p. 145.

40. H. Chron, 1022 24 Sept 1792.

41. Ibid., 1023 1 Oct 1792.

42. Aesop, Sporting Reminiscences of Hampshire 1745 - 1862 (1864), p. 29.

43. H. Chron, 1102 17 March 1794.

44. Committee for the relief of the suffering French Clergy to the Duke of Portland, 11 Nov 1792 : H.O. 42/22.

45. H.R.O. W/D3/328.

CHAPTER 2

1. H. Chron, 1974, 20 Jan 1812.
2. A. Deacon, 'Some Prisoners of War on Parole in Hampshire' Proc H.F.C. 43 (1987), p. 197.
3. A.J. Robertson, History of Alresford (Winchester, 1937), p. 38.
4. F.H. Sargent, Story of Bishop's Waltham (1961), p. 39.
5. K.R. Dykes, 'Odiham's Open Prison', Hampshire Magazine, (Aug 1962), p. 23.
6. Ibid, p. 24.
7. L. Simond, ' An American in Regency England' The Journal of a tour 1810 - 1811 (1968 reprint), pp. 149 - 151.
8. F. Abell, Prisoners of War in Britain 1756 - 1815 (1914), p. 420.
9. R. Bennett, 'French Prisoners of War on Parole in Britain 1803 - 1814' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1964), p. 128.
10. H.R.O., 94 M72/F654, French Exchange Commissioner to H. Bonham, 15 May 1797.
11. R. Bennet, loc.cit., p. 78.
12. V. Bonham-Carter, In a Liberal Tradition (1960), p. p. 54.
13. Ibid, p. 45.
14. H. Chron, 1060 26 Aug 1793.
15. Ibid, 1132 29 Sept 1794.
16. Calendar of Prisoners in the County Gaol in the City of Winchester, 3 March 1795 : H.O. 42/34.
17. H. Chron, 1938 6 May 1811.
18. A. Deacon, 'Some Prisoners of War on Parole in Hampshire' Proc H F.C. 43 (1987), p. 197.

19. F.H. Sargent, op.cit., p. 39.

20. A. Deacon, 'French Prisoners of War in Hampshire', Hampshire Magazine (Jan 1983), p. 37.

21. H.T., 315, 21 Ocdt 1805.

22. R. Bennett, loc.cit., p. 86.

23. F. Abell, op.cit., p. 165.

24. H. Chron, 1196 9 Jan 1796.

25. The Times, 7863, 12 Oct 1810.

26. London Gazette, 1797.

27. L. White, Story of Gosport (Southamapton,1984), p.63.

28. J.H. Cooke, Portchester Castle (1928), p. 124.

29. H. Chron, 1208 9 Apr. 1796.

30. Cornhill Magazine, 1897, p. 223.

31. H. Chron, 21 June 1890.

32. F. Abell, op.cit., p. 177.

33. J.H. Cooke, op.cit., p. 122.

34. F. Abell, op.cit., p. 177. No date for this could be found. Cobett's Parliamentary History and the Journals for the House of Commons could give no references.

35. P.C.R.O. 179 A/72, Gosport, Bishop's Waltham, Wickham and Chawton turnpike trust misc. papers, 1769 - 1830.

36. J.H. Cooke, op.cit., p. 125. The same as the note 34. Book gives no date or reference, Parliamentary Sources give no leads.

37. H. Chron, 1054 15 July 1793.

38. P.C.R.O. 11A/74/14, General Sir William Pitt to the Duke of York, 15 April 1798.

39. H. Chron, 1233 25 March 1797.

40. Ibid, 1054 15 July 1793.

41. H.T., 407 27 July 1807.

42. Cornhill Magazine, 1897, p. 221.

43. Annual Register, XLII 1800, p. 163.

44. J.A. Lowe (Ed), Records of the Portsmouth Division of Marines, Portsmouth Record Series 7 (1990), pp.134-136

45. H. Chron, 1158 19 Jan 1795.

46. The London Gazette, June 1803, p. 813.

47. The Times, 4760 4 April 1800.

48. Motlley, History of Portsmouth (1801), p. 115.

49. H. Chron, 1509 13 Sept 1802.

50. F. Abell, op.cit., p. 214.

51. Sir Gilbert Blane, works, C. Lloyd (Ed), The Health of Seamen, Navy Records Society, Vol. CVIII (1965), p.181

52. H. Chron, 1133 6 Oct 1794.

53. P.C.R.O., CHU 27/2A3, Poor rate book for the Parish of St. Mary, Portchester, 1809 - 1814, Feb 22nd 1809.

54. V.J.L. Fontana, Rebirth of Catholicism in Portsmouth (The Portsmouth papers series No. 56, 1989), p. 6.

55. J.A. Lowe (Ed), op.cit., p.xxxv.

56. L. Garneray, The French Prisoner (1957), p. 203-4.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER 3

1. A. Geddes, Portsmouth during the Great French Wars 1770 - 1800 (The Portsmouth Papers Series, No.9. 1970).

2. Ibid, p. 18.

3. H.T. Dickinson, 'Popular Conservation and Militant Loyalism 1789 - 1815' in H.T. Dickinson, (Ed), Britain and the French Revolution (1989), p. 104.

4. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963), p. 158.

5. E.P. Thompson, The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century, Past and Present, L (1971), p. 78.

6. A. Geddes, op.cit., p. 17.

7. Hampshire Repository, 1798, p. 37.

8. H. Chron, 1057, 7 Jan 1793.

9. Journal of the House of Commons, 1795, p. 106.

10. Ibid, p. 110.

11. S. Payne, Parliamentary Reform in Portsmouth 1750 - 1835, (Typescript Study, 1979), p. 10.

12. Ibid, p. 11.

13. D. Wilson, Government Dockyard Workers in Portsmouth 1793 - 1815, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick 1975), p. 62.

14. S. Payne, op.cit., p. 11.

15. E.P. Thompson, Loc.cit., p. 79.

16. W.M. Stern, The Bread Crisis in Britain 1795 - 6, Economica New Series, Vol. XXXI (1964), p. 180.

17. Journal of the House of Commons, 1795, p. 467.

18. Gentleman's Magazine, LXV 1795, p. 343.

19. John Carter to the Duke of Portland, 12 April 1795 : H.O. 42/34.

20. D. Wilson, op.cit., p. 146.

21. H. Chron, 1211 30 April 1796.

22. Ibid,

23. H.R.O., Q1/25, Quarter Sessions Order Book 1799 - 1801 p. 148.

24. H.T., 29 Sept 1800.

25. Magistrates of Hambledon to the Duke of Portland, 4 Sept 1800 : H.O. 42/51.

26. John Latham to same, 4 Sept 1800 : H.O. 42/51.

27. J. Goldson to same, 10 Sept 1800 : H.O. 42/51.

28. Document enclosed by J. Goldson to same, 20m Sept 1800 H.O. 42/51.

29. C. Emsley, 'The Social Impact of the French Wars' in H.T. Dickinson (Ed), op.cit., p. 223.

30. D. Wilson, op.cit., p. 518.

31. H.T., 47, 1 Sept 1800.

32. Ibid, 48 8 Sept 1800.

33. D. Wilson, op.cit., p. 342.

34. Articles of a society established by the name and state of the United Society in the town of Portsea, (1796, revised 1802). (P.C.L. - rare books).

35. Published correspondence of the L.C.S. (1795) from Appendix A, D. Wilson, op.cit., p. 612.

36. S. Payne, op.cit., p. 8.

37. R. Wells, Insurrection - The British Experience 1793 - 1815. (Gloucester, 1986), p. 92.

38. Goldson to the Duke of Portland, 20 Sept 1800 : H.O. 42/51.

39. Hampshire Repository, 1798, p. 97.

40. H. Chron, 24 Aug 1795.

41. H.R.O. W/K5/8, 14 October 1803 Sedition, W.H. Jacob, City of Winchester, retrospect of Civil Manners and Customs. (Scrapbook).

42. R. Wells, Wretched Faces - Famine in Wartime England 1793 - 1803 (Gloucester, 1988), p. 441.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. Hampshire Record Office, Winchester

1/25	Quarter Sessions Order Book 1799 - 1801.
W/D3/20	Bill of Indictment 28 June 1790
W/K5/8	W.H. Jacob, City of Winchester A restrospect of Civil Manners and Customs. (Scrapbook)
W/D3/328	Passports issued in the County of Southampton, 1793
42 M75/PO23	Poor rate book for the Parish of Lymington 1799 - 1804
94 M72/F654	Letters to H. Bonham of Petersfield relating to Prisoners of War on Parole
108/M70 A/P06	Account and rate book for the Overseers of the poor in the Parish of Petersfield, 1791 - 1801
108/M70 A/P07	Account and rate book for the Overseers of the poor in the Parish of Petersfield, 1801 - 1809

2. Portsmouth City Records Office, Portsmouth

CHU 2/2A 2	Vestry minute and Churchwardens Account books for the Parish of St. Thomas, April 1778 - June 1806
CHU 2/2A 3	Vestry minute and Churchwardens Account book, for the Parish of St. Thomas, Jan 1806 - Dec 1830
CHU 27/2A 3	Overseers Accounts for the Parish of St. Mary, Portchester 1802 - 1808

CHU 27/2A 6	Poor rate book for the Parish of St. Mary, Portchester, 1809 - 1808
6/1/1	Justices of the Peace 1798 - 1799
6/1/2	Justices of the Peace 1808 - 1810
11A/24/14	General Sir William Pitt to the Duke of York, 15 April 1798
25A/1	Monthly return of the Royal Buckinghamshire Militia, Portsea barracks, June 1796
179 A/72	Gosport, Bishop's Waltham, Wickham and Chawton Turnpike trust Misc. Papers, 1769 - 1830

3. Portsmouth Central Library, Portsmouth

Microfilm Copies of Home Office Papers:

H.O. 42/22	Nov 1792
42/23	1 - 14 Dec 1792
42/25	March - May 1793
42/34	Jan - May 1795
42/38	Jan - April 1796
42/39	May - Dec 1796
42/51	Sept 1800
42/73	Oct 1803

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Articles of a Society established by the name and State of the UNITED SOCIETY in the town of Portsea, 1796, 1802.

W. Cobbett (Ed), Parliamentary History of England, Vols. XXX,XXXI,XXXII, XXXIII.

Journals of the House of Commons, Volumes 48 - 55, 1792 -1800.

C. Lloyd (Ed), The Health of Seamen, Navy Records Society, Volume CVII (1965).

J.A. Lowe (Ed), Records of the Portsmouth division of Marines, 1764 - 1800, Portsmouth Record Series 7 (1990).

R. Vasey Hamilton and J. Knox Laughton (Eds), Recollections of James Anthony Gardener, Navy Records Society, Vol. XXXI, (1906)

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

Annual Register, XL - XLII, 1798 - 1800.

Cornhill Magazine, 1897.

Gentleman's Magazine, LIX - LXXXI, 1789 - 1815.

Hampshire Chronicle, XVI - L, 1789 - 1815. 1890.

Hampshire Repository, Volume 1, 1798.

Hampshire Telegraph, I - XV, 1799 - 1815.

London Gazette, 1789 - 1815.

The Times, 1792 - 1815.

Hampshire Notes and Queries, Vol. 6 (reprinted from the Hampshire Observer and Winchester News)

SECONDARY PRINTED SOURCES

(Place of publication, unless otherwise stated, is London)

F. Abell, Prisoners of War in Britain 1756 - 1815 (1914.

Aesop, Sporting Reminiscences of Hampshire (1864).

C. Ball, An Historical Account of Winchester (Winchester, 1818).

D.T. Bellenger, The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789 (Bath, 1986).

P. Berrow, B. Birbridge and P. George (Eds), The Story of Romsey, (1984).

V. Bonham-Carter, In a Liberal Tradition (1960).

J.H. Cooke, Portchester Castle (1928).

C.E. Cooper, Prisoners at Portchester (Portsmouth, 1973).

Rev. J.S. Davies, A History of Southampton (1883).

A. Deacon, The Prisoner from Perrecey (1983).

H.T. Dickinson (Ed), Britain and the French Revolution 1989).

C. Emsley, British Society and the French Wars 1793 - 1815 1979).

V.J.L. Fontana, Rebirth of Roman Catholicism in Portsmouth (The Portsmouth Papers No.56), (1989).

L. Garneray, The French Prisoner (1957).

W.G. Gates, Illustrated History of Portsmouth (Portsmouth, 1900).

A. Geddes, Portsmouth during the Great French Wars 1770 - 1800 (The Portsmouth Papers No.9, 1970).

J.F.R. Hope, A History of Hunting in Hampshire (Winchester, 1950).

C.P. Jones, History of Lymington (Lymington 1930).

F.E. Kenchington, The Commoner's New Forest (1942).

E. King, Old Times revisited in the Borough and Parish of Lymington (Winchester, 1879).

C. Lloyd and J.L.S. Coulter (Eds), Medicine and the Navy Volume III 1714 - 1815, (1961).

A. Mee (Ed), Hampshire with the Isle of Wight (Suffolk, 1939).

Rev. J. Milner, The History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester (Winchester, 1809).

Mottley, History of Portsmouth (Portsmouth, 1809).

A.J. Robertson, History of Alresford Winchester, 1937).

F.H. Sargent, The Story of Bishop's Waltham (1961).

L. Simond, An American in Regency England The Journal of a tour 1810 - 1811, (1968 reprint).

J. Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England 1770 - 1870 (1979).

A. Temple-Patterson, A History of Southampton 1700 - 1835 (Southamapton, 1966).

E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class. (1963).

R. Warner, History of the Isle of Wight (1795).

M. Weiner, The French Exiles 1789 - 1815 (1960).

R. Wells, Insurrection - The British Experience 1795 - 1803 (Gloucester, 1986).

R. Wells, Wretched Faces - Famine in Wartime England 1763 - 1803. Gloucester, 1988).

L. White, Story of Gosport (Southampton, 1989).

JOURNAL ARTICLES

D.T. Bellenger, 'The French Priests at the King's House, Winchester 1792 - 1796', Proc H.F.C. 40, (1984), pp. 99 - 105.

A. Deacon, 'French Prisoners of War in Hampshire', Hampshire Magazine, Jan 1983, pp. 37 - 39.

A. Deacon, 'Some French Prisoners of War on Parole in Hampshire' Proc H.F.C. 43 (1987), pp. 197-205.

K.R. Dykes, 'Odihams open Prison', Hampshire Magazine, Aug 1962, pp. 23 - 24.

The Mariners Mirror, Vol. 19, Jan 1933.

J. Rule, 'Social Crime in the Rural South in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', Southern History 1 (1979), pp. 135 - 153.

W.M. Stern, 'The Bread Crisis in Britain 1795 - 1796', Economica New Series Volune XXXI (1964) pp. 168 - 187.

E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', Past and Present, L (1971), pp. 76 - 136.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

R. Bennett, 'French Prisoners on Parole in Britain 1803 - 1814' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1964).

A. Markwick, 'Fires and Fire Damage in Southampton 1770 - 1870', (Unpublished dissertation for Portsmouth Polytechnic diploma in English Local History, 1986).

S. Payne, 'Parliamentary Reform in Portsmouth 1750 - 1835' (Typescript Study, Portsmouth 1979).

D. Wilson, 'Government Dockyard Workers in Portsmouth 1793 - 1815' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1975).